

SEPTEMBER 1960

VOLUME 41, NO. 2

**THE** *Southwestern*  
**SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY**

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# Notes on the Louisiana Constitution of 1921

CONRAD JOYNER  
SOUTHWESTERN LOUISIANA INSTITUTE

ONE OF THE MOST CURIOUS DOCUMENTS ever to be given the label "constitution" is the Louisiana Constitution of 1921. Textbooks in state government are not complete without reference to the fact that Louisiana has the longest state constitution. Moreover, Louisiana's fundamental law is a source of fun and frustration to governors and to members of the state legislature, the bench, and the bar. Yet, occasions occur when a person must be able both to read and give a reasonable interpretation of this document in order to register to vote.<sup>1</sup> More recently the Constitution was a center of controversy due to Governor Earl Long's announcement that he would seek a second term despite the fact that the document states "nor shall any person elected Governor be eligible as his own immediate successor."<sup>2</sup> However, Governor Long abandoned his plans to circumvent this prohibition and decided to seek the lieutenant-governorship.<sup>3</sup>

In light of the above-mentioned circumstances a probe of some of the historical mysteries surrounding the 1921 Constitution seems appropriate. An examination of some of the document's defects and an indication of the steps which have been taken to provide the state with a basic law also seem in order.

The Constitution of 1921 is the tenth in the State's 147-year history as a member of the Union.<sup>4</sup> As William Havard points out, Louisiana "can assert

<sup>1</sup> The Louisiana Constitution of 1921, Art. VIII, Sec. 1, Part (d) provides, "If he [the applicant] is not able to read or write, then he shall be entitled to register if he shall be a person of good character and reputation, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Louisiana, and shall be able to understand and give a reasonable interpretation of any section of either Constitution when read to him by the registrar . . ."

<sup>2</sup> The Louisiana Constitution of 1921, Art. 5, Sec. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The New Orleans *Times Picayune*, May 19, 1959, *et. seq.*

<sup>4</sup> For a history of constitutional development in Louisiana see Alden Powell, "A History of Louisiana Constitutions," *Project of a Constitution for the State of Louisiana with Notes and Studies*, prepared by Louisiana State Law Institute, Vol. I, Part I, n.d., pp. 271-509. See also William Havard, *The Government of Louisiana* (Louisiana State University, Bureau of Public Administration, 1958), pp. 13-29.

claim to the dubious honor of having changed its basic law more often than any other state."<sup>5</sup> One factor contributing to such frequent change is that most of the Constitutions have been partisan documents. This certainly was the case with the Constitution of 1913 which immediately preceded the 1921 basic law.

The need to revise the Constitution of 1913 became apparent as early as 1917. The principal reason was that the State Supreme Court had invalidated provisions of the 1913 document. In effect, these Court decisions revived provisions of the 1898 Constitution, and the State was placed in the awkward position of having two constitutions. Faced with this situation the legislature acted with dispatch and issued a convention call. The voters approved and a constitutional convention of 146 delegates met in Baton Rouge on March 1, 1921.<sup>6</sup>

The delegates appeared to be well fitted for the task of writing a basic law. Of the 146 convention members, ninety-one were lawyers, two were former governors, and many others had had considerable experience in state politics and administration. At the outset of the convention, Hewitt Bouanchaud, the President, pointed out that the members should avoid two errors which had been made in past constitutional draftings. First, certain constitutional provisions should be made flexible to avoid the recurrence of amendments. Second, all matters not fundamental to the document should be omitted.<sup>7</sup> These were lofty aims, but from the very first days the delegates, boldly disregarding of Bouanchaud's charges to them, embarked on a series of procedural and substantive errors.

One problem was that no advance research had been undertaken. Furthermore, the delegates were not provided with copies of the 1913 Constitution and other necessary legal materials; also, there was scant secretarial assistance. In such a situation the members were forced to resort to the free and prolific advice of the lobbyists who roamed at will through the convention halls during the sessions. Matters were further complicated by the adoption of a cumbersome committee system. Thirty-five committees were formed with from seven to thirty-one members per committee. The fact that committees worked without direction and co-ordination led to rivalry instead of co-operation.<sup>8</sup> These major mechanical defects led to much repetition, fragmentation, and vagueness in the Constitution.

As the Convention dragged into the hot summer months the sergeant-at-

<sup>5</sup> William Havard, "The Abortive Louisiana Constitutional Convention of 1951," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 13 (November, 1951), p. 697.

<sup>6</sup> Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 469.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 470-471.

arms was instructed to prevent delegates from skipping Saturday sessions. Despite all his efforts, even to the point of patrolling the train stations, sixty-two delegates were absent on July 4. Another problem which faced the delegates was that of securing liquor, since the Convention met after the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. The Attorney General, as a result of numerous requests, issued an opinion to the effect that the physicians who were convention delegates could prescribe liquor for those who were ill.<sup>9</sup>

Aside from these difficulties, the delegates were confronted with several other problems of a more serious nature. First, there was the problem of providing a constitution for the twentieth century. Drafting a basic law in 1921 was a far greater task than the job that confronted constitutional conventions of the nineteenth century. The reason for this is that in 1921 drafters of basic laws were faced with establishing a government that could deal with the problems of an age of rapid technological changes. In many cases the delegates to the Louisiana convention of 1921 were incapable of handling the difficulties of the machine age. One manifestation of this is that the Constitution contains fifty-three pages devoted to motor vehicles.<sup>10</sup>

A second problem was that the delegates worked within a rigid ideological framework that was a throwback to the conservative reaction to Jacksonian democracy. It was plain that the members feared the consequences of too much government. The fact that they were particularly anxious to circumscribe the activities of the executive and legislature led to a plethora of detail aimed at curbing the powers of these two branches of government.

Finally, the delegates were victims of Louisiana's legal code. The State is the only one in the Union which has a legal system based on the written principles embodied in the Napoleonic Code. It was only natural that the members should have had little conception of an evolving law based on certain great legal principles. That the penchant for a complete document should overcome any urge that might have existed for flexibility was inevitable.

Thus, the imperfections in the Constitution of 1921 were the result of certain procedural errors, of the complications of drafting a constitution in the twentieth century, and of certain traditions peculiar to Louisiana. The final product contains twenty-five articles, few of which are confined to a particular topic, and over 184,000 words. A critique of the Constitution could be a work of great length. However, an analysis of all the many defects reveals that they center around one fact: the Constitution is not a funda-

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 471.

<sup>10</sup> Louisiana Legislative Council, *Constitutional Revision in Louisiana—An Analysis*, Research Study No. 3, n.d., p. 4.

mental law but a compendium of statute law. Three criticisms point up this basic fault: (1) the Constitution is poorly drafted; (2) it is defective in policy content; and (3) the amending process is faulty.<sup>11</sup>

Justification of the first criticism—poor draftsmanship—exists largely in the fact that the document does not contain the provisions relating to a general subject in one article or in a successive group of sections. Instead, material relating to the same institution is scattered throughout the whole of the Constitution's more than three hundred pages. The helter-skelter nature of the basic law is further complicated because similar matters are dealt with in entirely different ways, e.g., although the legislature is given the power to appropriate money for the salaries of appellate court judges no provision is made for the pay of supreme court judges. Another defect along this same line is the too frequent reference to other legal documents; in fact, 179 documents are included in the Constitution by reference. However, the great detail of the Constitution does not make for clarity. Vague terminology and repetition is a frustration to the most competent constitutional scholar.

Inadequate policy content and the resulting mystery of constitutional intent—the second major criticism—is more serious than poor draftsmanship, for the latter can be corrected as a matter of form by rulings from the Attorney General. But the fact that the Constitution usurps many legislative functions and makes no general provision for state-local relations cannot be corrected by legal opinions. In Article X, Section 1, the legislature is granted the general power of taxation, but subsequent sections of this Article and other articles instruct, define, and limit the legislative power to tax. With regard to local government the Constitution contains more than one hundred pages of detailed regulation but does not clarify the position of local units vis-à-vis the state. The Constitution serves only to hamper local adaptability and in turn denies the legislature the flexibility necessary to deal with local problems.

The final criticism of the 1921 basic law is aimed at the abuses of the amending process. In part this defect results from bad draftsmanship and inadequate policy content. The over-all effect of the amending process has been to compound the bad draftsmanship and inadequate policy content and create several other problems of greater import than either of these. The 1921 Constitution has been amended over 375 times in thirty-eight years. The number of amendments is not highly important, but the resulting "government by amendment" has serious consequences. The present amendment

<sup>11</sup> The criticisms of the 1921 Constitution are treated in greater detail in the following: *ibid.*, pp. 3-15; Powell, *op. cit.*, pp. 467-508; Havard, "The Abortive Louisiana Constitutional Convention of 1951," *op. cit.*, pp. 697-711; and Kimbrough Owen, "The Need for Constitutional Revision in Louisiana," *Louisiana Law Review*, Vol. VII (November, 1947), pp. 1-104.

process places a heavy burden on the voter by asking him to make decisions involving technical, administrative, or financial considerations. An amendment presented in 1958, for example, asked the voters to decide whether the state and its political subdivisions should be granted specific authority to maintain projects with, or on behalf of, the United States or any federal agency.<sup>12</sup>

Because of the complicated nature of the amendments and the number of amendments submitted—thirty at the last Congressional election—the voters have become apathetic: less than ten per cent voted in the last election. Low voter-turnout leads to minority rule and the oversway of urban influence—nearly fifty per cent of the vote on many amendments is cast by the residents of New Orleans. Finally, the detailed nature of the Constitution causes the legislature to place matters of a purely local nature before the entire state, e.g., four amendments submitted in 1958 dealt with financing projects of the New Orleans Sewerage and Water Board.<sup>13</sup> In connection with this point, it can be noted that in many cases the legislature shirks its responsibility by submitting controversial local measures for a statewide vote.

On the surface it would appear that defects which warrant such devastating criticisms of the Constitution must inevitably compel the adoption of a new basic law. With the exception of the abortive convention of 1951, the voters have not had an opportunity to express their views on complete constitutional revision. Moreover, the hope of the legislature issuing a convention call seems to be forestalled, at least until after the 1960 gubernatorial election.

To pinpoint public statements which give clues to this legislative reluctance is not easy. The professional staff of the Louisiana Legislative Council (reference bureau) in its study of constitutional revision indicates that the basic reason against rewriting the document stems from a conservative bias.<sup>14</sup> The opponents of revision defend the *status quo* at all costs. This opposition to constitutional change is not due to a lack of enlightenment among the citizenry concerning the faults of the document. But it is based on a fear of the consequences which would result from such a fundamental alteration. The opponents of change argue that the citizens know what they have. They contend that the thirty-eight year period of interpretation by the Supreme Court and various attorney generals has clarified the basic law. Moreover, they maintain that the State's 147-year experience with ten different consti-

<sup>12</sup> Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, *Voter's Guide* [to] 30 Constitutional Amendments, 1958, p. 15.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17–21.

<sup>14</sup> Louisiana Legislative Council, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–20.

tutions is a discouraging historical reality and offers little hope that a new constitution would be better than past ones.

The foregoing arguments are probably rationalizations of a more basic aversion to constitutional revision, an aversion based on a feeling that a constitutional convention would be controlled by the Long faction. It is rumored quite freely that a Long-dominated convention would somehow perpetuate the influence of the Long group. To those unfamiliar with Louisiana politics this might appear as an unrealistic prejudice. But the passions and emotions which have surrounded the policies of Earl Long and his brother Huey, regardless of any rational content those policies might possess, are real to those who identify themselves as "anti-Longs." Political animosity between the two factions is as deep as any rifts which occur in two-party states. Moverover, according to the "anti-Longs," the apparent willingness of the "Longs" to manipulate the State's governmental machinery could easily manifest itself in a constitutional convention.<sup>15</sup>

Despite this situation the Louisiana legislature in 1946 took steps which laid the groundwork for one of the most thorough analyses of constitutional changes ever undertaken. The legislature authorized the Louisiana State Law Institute,<sup>16</sup> a public agency composed of lawyers, teachers, and judges, to make a complete study of the Constitution.<sup>17</sup> The Institute finished their analysis in 1954. It is composed of four massive volumes entitled *Projet [draft] of a Constitution for the State of Louisiana with Notes and Studies*. In the letter of transmittal of these volumes to the legislature the Institute described its task:

First; To prepare a *Projet* which would focus attention on the problems involved in writing the Constitution of Louisiana, so organized as to furnish a pattern or framework for the work of a convention called for that purpose; and

Second; To furnish full factual data necessary or helpful in considering these problems, with a fair objective and comparative statement of the differences between the *Projet* and the present Constitution, and of the motives for the suggestions of the Institute.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Among the better studies of Louisiana politics are these: Perry Howard, *Political Tendencies in Louisiana, 1812-1952* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1957); Harnett T. Kane, *Louisiana Hayride* (New York, William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1941); V. O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949), pp. 156-183; Robert Shugg, *Origins of the Class Struggle in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1939); and Allen P. Sandler, *Huey Long's Louisiana* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1956).

<sup>16</sup> The Louisiana State Law Institute is "an official law revision commission, law reform agency and legal research agency of the State of Louisiana." R.S. of Louisiana (Act 160 of 1938 as amended). For a full description of the Law Institute's functions see Havard, "The Abortive Louisiana Constitution Convention of 1951," *op. cit.*, pp. 699-703.

<sup>17</sup> Act 52 of 1946.

<sup>18</sup> *Projet of a Constitution . . . with Notes and Studies*, p. vi.

The four volumes can be broken down as follows: Volume I, which has two parts, contains (1) suggested organization of a constitutional convention; (2) a history of constitutional development in Louisiana by Alden Powell; (3) the three most recently adopted State Constitutions, Missouri, New Jersey, and Georgia, which are to be used for comparative purposes; (4) the Model State Constitution prepared by the Committee on State Government of the National Municipal League; (5) the *Projet* of the Louisiana Constitution; (6) special studies of general interest. Volumes II and III contain the *Projet* with detailed explanatory statements and notes. Volume IV has special studies and material on New Orleans, a compilation of the acts and other materials incorporated in the present Constitution by reference, a bibliography, concordance tables, and a complete index to the four volumes. Each volume is well indexed, and the printing throughout is in large bold-face type. Many of the studies presented in the volumes have been issued as separate publications by the Institute and have been made available to interested public officials and citizens.

The most interesting aspect of the Institute's work is the *Projet*. The *Projet* is about one-seventh as long as the present Constitution and eliminates reference to the 179 legal documents which are incorporated in the present basic law by reference. The suggested constitution is well organized and follows uniform rules of style. In substance the *Projet* incorporates suggestions from the Model State Constitution along with other innovations advanced by students of state constitutions. Those proposed alterations which are accepted by critics of present state constitutions are: a stronger and more responsible legislature and executive;<sup>19</sup> the elimination of special reference to parish (county) and municipal problems that can be handled at the local level;<sup>20</sup> and the abandonment of dedicated revenues and general restrictions on the legislature's power to tax.<sup>21</sup>

Aside from these changes, there are others which would not only be the subject of disagreement among the delegates but also among students of state government. Among these are: a split legislative session;<sup>22</sup> a more difficult amending process;<sup>23</sup> a requirement for a referendum in incurring debt;<sup>24</sup> a relinquishment of the *ad valorem* tax to the local units;<sup>25</sup> a modified Missouri Plan for the election of judges of the supreme and appeals courts;<sup>26</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-32.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 58-63.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 54-58.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44-48.

and the election of the governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, and treasurer for four-year terms, and the auditor for a six-year term.<sup>27</sup>

Of the six above-mentioned changes none are so well accepted as to indicate that they would work in Louisiana. But as the authors of the *Projet* point out in discussing the changes relating to the judiciary: "It must be understood, however, that these [changes] have been worked out largely on a theoretical basis which should yield to the practicalities which will develop in the convention."<sup>28</sup> In other words, the Institute has provided a future convention with sound points for discussion.

The work of the Institute is ready and waiting for future delegates. Whether it will be of use or how soon it will be used will depend upon political developments in the state. There is a chance that a future convention will fail to overcome the substantive obstacles which faced the 1921 gathering. Despite this, it does seem inconceivable that the state will not encounter more and more difficulty in trying to operate under the 1921 Constitution. It certainly is correct to say that any governmental or other advances that have come about in the past thirty-eight years have been realized in spite of the Constitution. But to say that this will eventually cause revision to take place or to maintain that any new fundamental law will be better than past ones is not a safe prediction in light of the state's political history.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-32.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxv.

### *Notice of Award*

The Elizur Wright Award Advisory Committee of the American Association of University Teachers of Insurance wants to call to the attention of publishers the Elizur Wright Award for "outstanding, original contribution to the literature of insurance." This award

is available annually and carries, currently, a \$500 honorarium. Announcement of the award is made at the annual meeting of the American Association of University Teachers of Insurance, in December.

# The Nation's First Anti-Darwin Law: Passage and Repeal

R. HALLIBURTON, JR.

CAMERON STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

CHARLES R. DARWIN MAY OR MAY NOT have foreseen the effect of his theory of natural selection and evolution as applied to mankind on the scientific discipline of biology. It is extremely doubtful, however, that he appreciated its social impact on an industrializing world. The implications of "natural selection" and "survival of the fittest" comforted a pragmatic and competitive people and gave a fine rationale for conquest and imperialism. But when Darwinian theory was seen as challenging prevailing religious concepts, orthodox theology formed up for battle.

Its resistance was manifested in the antievolution movement which made its participants one of the most vocal and adamant pressure groups since the abolitionists of the Civil War era.

The wave of Christian fundamentalism which swept over much of the nation during the third decade of our century experienced its first legal triumph in the state of Oklahoma. It is not at all surprising that the anti-evolution controversy appeared in Oklahoma, since the state lies within that amorphous geographical area often referred to as the "Bible belt."

Purism has made frequent appearances throughout the past two centuries in various denominations. Fundamentalism, however, originated in 1909 with the uniting of conservative Protestants in an effort to resist the spread of "modernism" in theology. In 1918 the world's Christian Fundamentals Association was founded, its aims being to defend the primacy of the Biblical gospel in the churches and to check all "Anti-Christian" tendencies.<sup>1</sup>

The fundamentalists took violent exception to the advocacy and teaching of evolutionary theories. They attempted to arrest this "heretical" practice by seeking state and federal laws which would forbid the teaching of such doctrines in the public schools.

<sup>1</sup> William Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1950), p. 407. Sweet states, "The Fundamentalist movement *begun* in 1910 with the publication of a series of little books entitled, *The Fundamentals* . . ." Author's italics.

It is interesting to note that the first objections to evolutionary teachings in Oklahoma concerned the social and physical sciences. History and geology were the disciplines particularly involved. Fundamentalist agitation in most other states centered on the biological sciences and biology in particular.

The Southern Baptist Convention of 1922 set the stage upon which Oklahoma's antievolution drama was to unfold. The Baptists declared that the textbook was an anvil upon which evolution was to be crushed. Textbooks "calculated to undermine the faith of students in the Bible" must not be used. In explanation, the convention declared "... if in the department of science no textbook can be found which does correctly teach about evolution the teacher ought to be able to interpret the textbook in the light of revealed Biblical facts. . . ." The convention then made its position unequivocally clear by declaring, "One can understand both the Bible and evolution and believe one of them, but he cannot understand both and believe both."<sup>2</sup> One of the first evidences of an impending antievolution controversy in Oklahoma came in October of 1922 and was contained in the minutes of the Oklahoma State Association of Missionary Baptist Churches held at Alex. During that session, the convention adopted a report from the education committee which read, "Our public schools . . . and higher institutions of learning are infested with infidelity, rationalism and *false science*."<sup>3</sup> This pronouncement was a harbinger of more determined onslaughts by fundamentalists, and especially Baptists, upon the teaching of evolutionary theories in the schools.

In November, Oklahoma's Baptists met in a general session at Altus. There, a censuring motion was made and adopted to "memorialize the state legislature regarding the matter of the teaching of evolution in our public school system. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

One of the first publicized accounts of the fundamentalist spirit occurred during January of 1923 in Tulsa. Miss Lola de Vault, chief stenographer in the Tulsa County Attorney's office and an ardent Baptist, resigned her position as president of the Athena Society which was one of seven Delphian study clubs in that city. The society's academic study courses included English, history, music, foreign languages, and other disciplines taught in accredited colleges. Miss De Vault charged that the history course made an

<sup>2</sup> "The Report of the Committee on the Report of the Education Board," *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention* 1922, May 17-22, 1922, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> "Christian Education," *Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Session of the Oklahoma State Association of (Landmark) Missionary Baptist Churches*, October 24-26, 1922, n. p. Author's italics.

<sup>4</sup> *Minutes of the Seventeenth Annual Convention of the Baptist General Session of Oklahoma*, November 15-17, 1922, p. 95.

effort to discount the inspiration of the scriptures, the story of the creation, and hence, the deity of Jesus Christ.<sup>5</sup>

The genesis of Oklahoma's antievolution law, however, is entwined with the free textbook bill passed by the Ninth Oklahoma Legislature. In 1922 and 1923, during the ascendancy of the Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League and its "Shawnee platform," agitation was renewed for free textbooks.<sup>6</sup> The "Shawnee platform" contained a "plank" demanding free textbooks, and during the succeeding year free texts were advocated in both the Republican and Democratic party platforms. The "plank" in the Democrats' platform in the past election stipulated, "We [Democratic Party] demand that the state publish text books and sell them to the school districts at cost and the school districts furnish them to the pupils free."<sup>7</sup>

Governor John C. Walton was in complete agreement with the "free text-book plank." In his inaugural address to the legislature, in January of 1922, he stated, "It is my judgment that this state ought to furnish the school text books free to all pupils of the state and trust your wisdom will accomplish that end."<sup>8</sup>

Both the Democrats' and Republicans' promises were partially fulfilled when a bipartisan group introduced House bill 197, an act creating and providing for a system of free textbooks in the public schools of Oklahoma.<sup>9</sup> The authors ignored the Democratic party platform, however, and wrote a bill stipulating that textbooks were to be purchased from a publisher rather than printed by the state.<sup>10</sup>

At first there was little opposition to the bill other than a mild concern about its cost.<sup>11</sup> Publishers appeared indifferent toward the measure, as they would merely sell books to the state instead of to private distributors if the bill passed.<sup>12</sup>

This tranquil atmosphere proved to be ephemeral, however, for the chamber was soon surprised by a proposed amendment to the bill. Representative J. L. Montgomery, Democrat from Anadarko, proffered an "anti-Darwin 'clause.'" This amendment, apparently offered without previous

<sup>5</sup> *Tulsa Tribune*, January 21, 1923, p. A-1.

<sup>6</sup> See Gilbert C. Fite, "Oklahoma's Reconstruction League: An Experiment in Farmer-Labor Politics," *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. XIII (1947), pp. 535-555. Also Gilbert C. Fite, "The Nonpartisan League in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV (1946), pp. 146-157.

<sup>7</sup> *Tulsa Tribune*, February 14, 1923, p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, January 8, 1923, p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> *House Journal*, Reg. Sess. 9th Legis., Oklahoma, 1923, p. 304.

<sup>10</sup> *Session Laws of Oklahoma*, 1923, pp. 292-298.

<sup>11</sup> *Oklahoma Farmer Stockman*, March 10, 1923, p. 4.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, February 24, 1923, p. 4.

warning, was to Section 12 of the bill and read "... provided, further, that no copyright shall be purchased, nor text book adopted that teaches the 'Materialistic Conception of History' (i.e.) The Darwin Theory of Creation vs. the Bible Account of Creation."<sup>13</sup>

The proposal caused an immediate furor in the chamber; legislators jumped to their feet and clamored for recognition. The house was sitting as a Committee of the Whole with Representative W. I. Cunningham of Sapulpa presiding. Cunningham promptly submitted the proposal to a vote and the "ayes" carried by a thirty-eight to thirty-three count.<sup>14</sup>

Representative Joseph P. Rossiter of Henryetta, the majority floor leader, moved for a reconsideration of the vote. The administration spokesman then took the floor to criticize the amendment and warned that "This is a step toward the dark ages." His attempt to forestall hasty action was received with "hoots" of disapproval. Representative Montgomery, author of the amendment, retorted, "I'm neither a lawyer nor a preacher, but a two-horsed layman and I'm against this theory called science!"<sup>15</sup>

Taking the floor for his first speech of the session, J. L. Watson, Democrat from Sallisaw, launched into a tirade of oratory in defense of the amendment. Watson pounded his desk and shouted, "I promised my people at home that if I had a chance to down this hellish Darwin here that I would do it." In another outburst he warned, "If you want to be a monkey, go out and be a monkey, but I am for this amendment and will strike this infernal thing while I can!"<sup>16</sup>

A "near-riot" was precipitated when E. P. White of Bennington, Democrat and farmer-labor member, attacked the amendment as an attempt to "load down" and "kill" the bill. "The man who wrote that amendment is not a saint," he charged, "and the men talking about the Bible here now are not saints either!" "Go down to the hotel lobbies with 'em and see for yourself if that bunch doesn't act like monkeys at times."<sup>17</sup> Turning toward Representative D. A. Stovall of Hugo, White shouted, "if the gentleman from Choctaw [County] ever prayed it was to the trusts and if a light was ever seen in his room at night it was to welcome some representative of the book interests."<sup>18</sup>

Representatives Allen Street and R. A. Singletary of Oklahoma City, along with Representative Frank M. Boyer of Tulsa, leaped to their feet shouting that White was violating the privileges of the House. "If he wants

<sup>13</sup> *Session Laws of Oklahoma*, 1923, p. 296.

<sup>14</sup> *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), February 22, 1923, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

to get personal, let me take him! I'd like to do it," Singletary belligerently hurled at the chair.<sup>19</sup>

In order to quiet the disturbance, floor leader Rossiter withdrew his motion to reconsider, exclaiming, "I am not against religion. I believe in the holy Bible! My father was a Quaker preacher and I believe just as you other men believe. I said, however, that this amendment had no place in the bill, but I withdraw my motion and shall not object to the adoption of the Montgomery amendment!"<sup>20</sup>

After this "chaotic" session, which featured charges of corruption and threats of personal violence, the House passed the bill eighty-seven to two on the final roll-call vote. Anna Lasky, Democrat from Oklahoma City, and Leslie E. Ray, Republican from Laverne, were the only House members to cast a negative vote. J. W. Callahan, Democrat from Wilburton, registered the lone "no" against the adoption of Section 12 which contained the anti-Darwin proviso.<sup>21</sup>

This swift and cursory action by the House incurred the wrath of many Oklahomans. Even the fundamentalist-oriented supporters of William Jennings Bryan's belief in the Biblical account of creation generally thought the legislation to be unnecessary.<sup>22</sup>

A Tulsa reporter interviewed a "cross section" of the city's prominent citizens concerning their sentiments on the Montgomery amendment. Of more than a score questioned, only one defender could be found for the bill. Three Protestant ministers, all non-Baptist, condemned the measure.<sup>23</sup> Mrs. C. C. Simmons, president of the high school Patron-Teacher's Association believed the law to be unnecessary, but added, "... there's not much question that Christian people ought to support the measure."<sup>24</sup> E. E. Oberholtzer, superintendent of schools, and the school board president, W. A. Marquis, both criticized the amendment. Most of the other board members considered the bill to be a joke.<sup>25</sup>

Raymond Bell, a Christian Scientist and local cafe proprietor, proved to be the only champion of the bill among the interviewed. He stipulated that, "The action of the legislature meets my approval. I do not believe in teaching such theories to our children."<sup>26</sup>

One of the most critical of all who attacked the legislature was attorney

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Tulsa Tribune*, February 22, 1923, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

Charles O'Conner. When asked for his views, he exhorted, "When scientists, theologians, philosophers, and educators, who have given their life to study and research and thoughtful examination of the facts, fail to agree, it is not a bit too much to expect that a bunch of legislators from the short-grass country, admirably fitted to hold the office of notary public, should assume to decide once and for all time truths, which have puzzled the thinkers of ages. . . ." <sup>27</sup> Like many surveys, however, the Tulsa poll was not completely objective or scientific. The Baptist clergy were not contacted, and the city's Baptist churches were almost without exception fundamentalist. <sup>28</sup>

The Senate received House bill 197 (the free textbook bill) on February 26. <sup>29</sup> During its deliberations, the chamber attached a total of twenty-five amendments to the act. <sup>30</sup> Among the more important provisos appended was Engrossed Senate Amendment Number I, which restricted free textbooks to include only those used in grades one through eight instead of one through twelve as provided in the original bill. <sup>31</sup>

An unsuccessful amendment offered on the floor of the Senate proposed to strike out the anti-Darwin or Montgomery amendment. While introducing the motion, Senator John Golobie of Guthrie cautioned his fellow legislators, "If this legislature forbids the study of evolution in the public schools it will make Oklahoma the laughing stock of the world." <sup>32</sup>

Senator Jed Johnson of Walters immediately attacked the proposed deletion and erroneously declared that the Protestant churches of the state were "up in arms" against the teaching of evolution. <sup>33</sup> He continued, saying, ". . . let's not make our children study these theories. I object to Darwin or Spencer or any so-called evolutionists giving our children their spiritual life. Let's leave their hellish teachings out. Practically all of the church members of this state are opposing the teaching of Darwinism . . . in the public schools." <sup>34</sup> Johnson then placed himself on record as believing in the infallibility of the scriptures, and admonished his colleagues, "If we can't believe the story of Genesis we shouldn't believe the story of the . . . Nazarene." He reiterated further that if the theories of evolution were taught to the children of the state they would become "agnostics" and "infidels." <sup>35</sup>

Senator H. E. Darnell of Clinton was the only vocal supporter of Go-

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Tulsa Tribune*, July 7, 1925, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> *Senate Journal*, Reg. sess., 9th Legis., Oklahoma, 1923, p. 1087.

<sup>30</sup> *House Journal*, Reg. sess., 9th Legis., Oklahoma, 1923, p. 1380.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Tulsa Tribune*, March 21, 1923, p. 5.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

lobie's motion to omit the Montgomery amendment. Darnell attempted to convince the Senate that evolutionary theories did not threaten the sanctity of the Bible, explaining that he had read the theories, and his faith had remained unchanged. Then he apprised the senators, "In voting for this motion [to strike the Montgomery amendment], I am not voting against the Bible and the story of the Creation, or that you must believe with Darwin that there was a monkey somewhere." Then he chastised his fellow legislators with, "When I hear such theories I do sometimes believe that there may have been a monkey back there somewhere."<sup>36</sup>

The oratory of Golobie and Darnell was of no avail, however, as Golobie's motion was voted down by an overwhelming majority. Several similar motions were introduced only to meet the same fate.<sup>37</sup> On March 22, the Senate passed House bill 197 by a vote of twenty-nine to seven with the Montgomery amendment intact.<sup>38</sup> Later on the same day the House concurred with the Senate's amendments.<sup>39</sup> Two days later the bill was sent to the Governor's desk, and on March 26, 1923, Governor John C. Walton signed the controversial measure into law.<sup>40</sup> Senators John Golobie and A. E. Darnell, along with Representatives J. P. Rossiter and E. P. White, arch-enemies of the anti-Darwin amendment, voted for the bill. None of the negative votes of either house was cast because of the Montgomery amendment.<sup>41</sup>

The legislative "mill" was not slowed appreciably by the controversy over the amendment. House bill 197 had been introduced on January 23, 1923, and was signed into law only sixty days later, on March 26, 1923. It was thus that Oklahoma earned the dubious distinction of being the *first* state in the union to take official action to prohibit the teaching of evolutionary theories in its public schools.<sup>42</sup> Oklahoma had cast the die, and no less than five other states were destined to follow her example in adopting antievolution legislation. Tennessee, Florida, Texas, Mississippi, and Arkansas passed restrictive measures concerning the teaching of evolution in their public schools. During the twenties antievolution bills, resolutions, or "riders," were introduced into the legislatures of at least thirty-seven states.<sup>43</sup> The prohibitive act adopted by Tennessee on March 21, 1925 (almost two

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Senate Journal*, Reg. sess., 9th Legis., Oklahoma, 1923, p. 1718.

<sup>39</sup> *House Journal*, Reg. sess., 9th Legis., Oklahoma, 1923, p. 1380.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Senate Journal*, Reg. sess., 9th Legis., Oklahoma, 1923, p. 1718.

<sup>42</sup> *The New York Times*, January 30, 1927, Sec. 8, p. 3.

<sup>43</sup> Maynard Shipley, "Growth of the Anti-Evolution Movement," *Current History*, Vol. XXXII (1930), pp. 330-332.

years after Oklahoma adopted its law), remains on the statute book to the present day.<sup>44</sup>

The first of the free, though censored, textbooks were distributed prior to the 1924-1925 academic year.<sup>45</sup> According to M. A. Nash, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the State Textbook Commission carefully scrutinized the various books submitted to that body, making certain that nothing "hinting" at the Darwinian theory had been "slipped" into the wording.<sup>46</sup> It is doubtful, however, that strict adherence to the law seriously impaired the teaching or learning processes of those involved. First, the prohibition applied only to the content of textbooks and not to the classroom lecture. Technically, the instructor continued to enjoy a large measure of academic freedom. Secondly, the law affected only grades one through eight. There were a minimum of courses within those limits that might prove controversial. History and the physical and biological sciences were taught primarily on the secondary school level where the law had no application.

The proponents of fundamentalism were well aware of the limited applicability of the law. The Missionary Baptists continued their denunciation of evolutionary teachings in their state convention of 1924, charging that secular institutions were allowing evolution to run "rampant." The Missionary Baptist colleges at Sheridan, Arkansas, and at Jacksonville, Texas, were described in a statement more doctrinaire than literate as "schools . . . where the text books and class rooms are free from the infidel poison of so-called modernism . . . where the advantage of a secular education are to be had. Without the rawdyism of Base ball and football in the coriculum or the poison of infidelity in the air."<sup>47</sup>

Two weeks later the Oklahoma Baptist General Convention met at Chickasha. Doctor W. W. Phelan reported that an intense industrial civilization with influences that undermined Christian faith surrounded young people. Doctor Phelan explained, "I allude to the evolution doctrine. I am fearful of the scientific scepticism which is dealt out to the youth of our land by glib teachers. . . ."<sup>48</sup>

When Governor John C. Walton was impeached and subsequently re-

<sup>44</sup> "Stop on Highway 27—'Monkey Trial' Town Today," *Newsweek*, September 1, 1958, p. 35.

<sup>45</sup> "Status of the Oklahoma Free Text Book Law," *Harlow's Weekly*, February 6, 1926, p. 4.

<sup>46</sup> *Tulsa Tribune*, July 17, 1925, p. 1.

<sup>47</sup> "The Report on Christian Education," *Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Session of the Oklahoma Baptist Missionary Association of (Landmark) Missionary Baptist Churches*, October 28-30, 1924, n. p.

<sup>48</sup> "Report of Christian Education," *Minutes of the Nineteenth Annual Session of the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma*, November 11-13, 1924, p. 83.

moved from office in 1923, the free textbook supporters lost a staunch ally. The incoming chief executive, Governor M. E. Trapp, had little sympathy for furnishing textbooks for Oklahoma's school children. Because of the tremendous cost incurred, the free textbook law had proved to be exceedingly unpopular. Governor M. E. Trapp, addressing the Taxpayers Protective League in Tulsa's convention hall on January 12, 1925, said there was far too much waste in the schools. He specifically stated he hoped the legislature would repeal the textbook law.<sup>49</sup>

Early in the session, measures to repeal the textbook statute were introduced in both houses of the Tenth Legislature. The first was Senate bill 54, "An act providing for the repeal of . . . the State Textbook Act," introduced on January 13, 1925, by Senators Earl Brown of Marietta and U. G. Rexroat of Ardmore.<sup>50</sup> At the same time in the House of Representatives, House bill 162, "An act . . . providing for the repealing of . . . the State Text Book Act . . ." was introduced by Representative M. M. Henderson of Tecumseh. Two days later the measure was referred to the committee on education, and on March 21, the committee chairman, Gladys Whittet, returned the bill with a "do not pass" recommendation.<sup>51</sup> This motion ended, for the moment, all efforts in the House, though there was still a considerable amount of vocal sentiment for repeal of the law.<sup>52</sup>

Senate bill 54 was not destined for the same fate. On January 23, Chairman Jed Johnson of the Senate Education Committee reported the bill with a "do pass" recommendation.<sup>53</sup> After extensive debate the upper house voted to repeal the textbook act by a margin of one vote.<sup>54</sup> The House of Representatives made only minor changes in accepting the bill and the Senate quickly concurred on the amendments. On March 26, 1925, the bill was ready for Governor Trapp's promised signature,<sup>55</sup> which was duly appended on March 31, 1925.<sup>56</sup> The sentiment to repeal the textbook law was thus entirely fiscal and had *nothing* to do with Montgomery's anti-Darwin amendment.

At this juncture, just as the governor was about to sign the repeal law, a political and religious "bombshell" was cast into the legislative proceeding. The proponents of free textbooks, led by the Oklahoma Farmers' Union, "initiated" a referendum petition to have the matter of free textbooks voted

<sup>49</sup> *Tulsa Tribune*, February 13, 1925, p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> *Senate Journal*, Reg. sess., 10th Legis., Oklahoma, 1925, p. 159.

<sup>51</sup> *House Journal*, Reg. sess., 10th Legis., Oklahoma, 1925, p. 383.

<sup>52</sup> "The Tenth Legislature," *Harlow's Weekly*, February 7, 1925, p. 8.

<sup>53</sup> *Senate Journal*, Reg. sess., 10th Legis., Oklahoma, 1925, p. 1902.

<sup>54</sup> "The Tenth Legislature," *Harlow's Weekly*, February 21, 1925, p. 4.

<sup>55</sup> *Senate Journal*, Reg. sess., 10th Legis., Oklahoma, 1925, p. 1902.

<sup>56</sup> "Status of the Oklahoma Free Text Book Law," *Harlow's Weekly*, February 6, 1926,

upon at the next general election, thereby hoping to salvage the law despite the action of the legislature.<sup>57</sup> At first there was only mediocre success in obtaining the 26,400 signatures required, and it appeared that the requisite number would not be obtained. At a propitious time, however, that portion of Section 12 in the law which read, "... Provided further, that no copy-right shall be purchased, no text book adopted that teaches the 'Materialistic Conception of History' (i.e.) The Darwin Theory of Creation vs. the Bible Account of Creation," was seized upon with considerable alacrity by the free textbook supporters.<sup>58</sup>

Immediately a cry went out to church congregations throughout the state heralding the opinion that repeal of the textbook act would allow the teachings of Darwin and the evolutionists in the schools.<sup>59</sup> This precipitated a bitter conflict between the fundamentalists and the modernists in the state and provided more than sufficient interest and signatures to insure the success of the circulating petition.<sup>60</sup>

After litigation as to the sufficiency and authenticity of the signatures, Secretary of State R. A. Sneed ruled that the petition was sufficient and in order.<sup>61</sup> As a result of the decision upholding the validity of the petition, the repealing law passed by the Tenth Legislature immediately became inactive, and the free textbook act went back into force pending a final decision by the electorate in the November general election.<sup>62</sup>

Most of the secular press throughout the state deplored the action of the petitioners and viewed the increasing strength of the fundamentalists apprehensively.<sup>63</sup> One of the most popular journals in the state indicated concern over fundamentalist activity by saying, "If the public press is any criterion of the attitude of the state as a whole—and surely it should be—the referendum on free textbooks, were it not for the evolution angle, would be badly defeated. . . ."<sup>64</sup> Practically every editor who commented on the issue expressed vehement opposition to the continuation of free textbooks.<sup>65</sup>

The defeat of the free textbook bill was probably expected by the Baptists. At its annual meeting in May, the Southern Baptist Convention urged

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> "Evolution and Oklahoma," *Harlow's Weekly*, July 11, 1925, p. 3. Reactivation of the law was of no consequence, however, since all textbooks had already been adopted and purchased for a four-year period.

<sup>63</sup> "Status of Referendum Petitions Uncertain," *Harlow's Weekly*, July 4, 1925, p. 6.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

Baptist scholars to begin publishing textbooks in the scientific fields. The Oklahoma delegation concurred in the statement, "Some of our men, who are most scholarly and who have majored in the natural sciences, believe there is no conflict between true science and true religion. They have delved deep into the study of the 'ages of the rocks,' and all the while have kept their feet firmly planted on the 'Rock of Ages.'"<sup>66</sup>

Meanwhile, the Farmers' Union continued to press its campaign for retention of the textbook law. The Union's president, John A. Simpson, reminded both the legislature and the electorate that free textbooks had been a "plank" in both the Republican and Democratic party platforms.<sup>67</sup>

Prior to the referendum election, the attention of fundamentalists and modernists alike became centered on the remote Tennessee hamlet of Dayton. This rustic little village had been "put on the map" by the world-wide news coverage of the celebrated "monkey trial."<sup>68</sup> John Thomas Scopes, a twenty-four-year-old biology teacher and part-time football coach in the local Rhea County High School, had been indicted for teaching, in violation of Tennessee's antievolution law, that man had descended from a lower order of animals.<sup>69</sup> The state's counsel for prosecution included the "great commoner," William Jennings Bryan, perennial presidential candidate and past United States Secretary of State. Bryan, the pious apostle of fundamentalism, was opposed by the skeptic Clarence Darrow, America's most eminent criminal lawyer, for the defense.<sup>70</sup>

The Scopes trial caused considerable excitement and comment in Oklahoma. The public libraries experienced an increased demand for books on evolution with Charles R. Darwin's *The Origin of Species* and *The Descent of Man* usually being the most popular. More than twenty separate titles on evolution alone, many in multiple copies, were in the Tulsa public library and received constant use.<sup>71</sup> "Little Blue Books" on evolution became "as common as house-flies in an unscreened restaurant."<sup>72</sup> One editor explained, "In spite of all laws seeking to handcuff the brains of men, they will go right

<sup>66</sup> "Sixth Annual Report of the Education Board," *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention*, May 13-17, 1925, p. 423. Also see "Report of Committee on Christian Education," *Minutes of the Twenty-First Annual Session of the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma*, November 10-12, 1926, p. 99. The "Rock of Ages" phrase was probably borrowed from a speech made by William Jennings Bryan before the West Virginia State Legislature on April 13, 1923, in which he said, "it is more important that he [the student] should know the Rock of Ages than the age of rocks."—(*The Commoner*, April, 1923, p. 3).

<sup>67</sup> John A. Simpson, "Why the Farmers' Union Favors Free Taxes [Texts]," *Harlow's Weekly*, July 18, 1925, p. 12.

<sup>68</sup> *The New York Times*, July 14, 1925, p. 1.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, July 12, 1925, p. 1.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Tulsa Tribune*, July 14, 1925, p. 8.

<sup>72</sup> *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), January 15, 1927, p. 8.

on thinking, and their first thought is liable to be that the authors of this evolution law are a wee bit asinine."<sup>73</sup> The *Daily Oklahoman* ran a two-page advertisement of Halderman-Julius' "Little Blue Books," among which were twenty-one separate titles on evolution.<sup>74</sup>

Oklahomans considered the Scopes case in both serious and ludicrous perspectives. Ministers of the gospel preached on the subject, both for and against, often having copies of the sermons made for general distribution.<sup>75</sup> Publishers reveled in the pungent controversy and there was no dearth of sensational "copy." Newspaper headlines and editorial pages often leaned toward the sensational. The ludicrous vein is depicted by the newspaper headline, "Team of Elks to Twist the Monk's Tail," announcing a "hectic and merciless" battle of oratory to determine which should be convicted, Scopes or the monkey.<sup>76</sup> The Tennessee trial helped to augment a rising tide of desire upon the part of many Oklahomans that the fundamentalists' religious beliefs be made the standard thought upon theological subjects, and that contradictory doctrines, scientific or otherwise, be suppressed. Though the conditions were not identical, the same forces that were active in Tennessee were said to be operating in Oklahoma.<sup>77</sup>

As the August primary election approached, the antievolution controversy became more heated. The fundamentalists considered the subsequent conviction of Scopes a positive victory and were looking forward to introducing more antievolution legislation in the Eleventh Legislature.<sup>78</sup>

On July 17, a Tulsa newspaper delivered a scathing front-page attack upon the legislature, accusing its members of acting like "sheep . . . taken to the woods on the evolution question." The lawmakers were also accused of hypocrisy as the newspaper charged, "There isn't one who will stand up and demand that Oklahoma's schoolbooks be opened to all theories of all truths, even though they may personally believe this is what should be done." The indictment pessimistically continued, ". . . Oklahoma politicians and schools will continue to stand firm against any questioning of the Bryan explanation of the Bible." The reason given was the fear of ". . . be[ing] buried beneath an avalanche of opposition [fundamentalist] votes."<sup>79</sup>

The state's educators received a caustic denunciation also. The press reported that, ". . . there hasn't yet been a single outstanding educator in Ok-

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, January 23, 1927, p. A-7.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, July 18, 1925, p. 1.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, July 19, 1925, p. 1-B. Antics of the type mentioned here were being perpetrated transcontinentally. See *The New York Times*, July 11, 1925, p. 1; July 17, 1925, p. 3.

<sup>77</sup> "Evolution and Oklahoma," *Harlow's Weekly*, July 11, 1925, p. 3.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> *Tulsa Tribune*, July 17, 1925, p. 1.

lahoma to speak out against the law."<sup>80</sup> Not only had the pedagogues failed to take the initiative in combating the proscription placed upon academic freedom, but they usually even refused to comment on the controversial issue.<sup>81</sup> It is noteworthy that during the entire life of Representative Montgomery's anti-Darwin amendment, the *Oklahoma Teacher*, the official organ of the Oklahoma Education Association, not once commented on the prohibitory measure.<sup>82</sup>

The November general election included seven separate measures of direct legislation which were proposed for a decision by the electorate. One of the most controversial of these was State Question 137, which was to determine whether the act repealing the free textbook law should be itself repealed. The Farmers' Union with the acquiescence of the Baptists continued a relentless campaign against the state question. The secular press had about exhausted itself on the subject, but of those papers commenting, the majority favored repeal.<sup>83</sup>

With the closing of the polls on Tuesday, November 2, 1926, the electorate had overwhelmingly approved the repeal of the free textbook law by a vote of 187,369 to 120,210. A vote of 197,587 would have been required to retain the law.<sup>84</sup> This action left Oklahoma free of restrictions in the selection of future texts. Since the adoptions had been made for a period of four years, however, the emasculated textbooks would still be in use for an additional two years. Just as Oklahoma had been the first state to adopt and repeal anti-Darwin legislation, by the medium of the textbook law, it was also the first state ever to repeal a free textbook law.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> An exhaustive perusal of the *Oklahoma Teacher* for the years 1923 through 1926 failed to produce a single reference concerning the Montgomery amendment or the antievolution issue.

<sup>83</sup> Simpson, *loc. cit.*

<sup>84</sup> Oklahoma State Election Board, *Directory of the State of Oklahoma 1927*, (Guthrie, Co-Operative Publishing Company, n. d.), p. 179.

<sup>85</sup> Simpson, *loc. cit.*

# British Labor and Revision of the Peace Settlement, 1920-1925

WILLIAM R. TUCKER

LAMAR STATE COLLEGE OF TECHNOLOGY

OF THE PEACE TREATIES DRAWN UP at the conclusion of the First World War, the Treaty of Sèvres alone was destined to disappear quickly from the scene, giving way in 1923 to a settlement which Turkey was willing to accept. The other four died slowly, leaving in their wake a whole series of crises and an accumulation of national hatreds and fears which, justifiably or unjustifiably, poisoned to a hopeless degree the European atmosphere. While the German effort to discredit and then destroy the *Diktat* played the preponderant role in the drama, the attitude of parties of the Left in several non-German countries was not without significance in the eventual crumbling of the postwar order.

This attitude, sometimes matching in forcefulness the German thesis, at least during the early years of the postwar period, was only one aspect of the almost universal dissatisfaction with the old order of things which animated the European working classes during that period. The growth of trade-union membership, as well as the increased strength and militancy of the Left in politics, was symbolic of the re-emergence of a powerful force which intended to play a role in domestic and international politics commensurate with its numbers. If that intent was not frequently realized in terms of actual political power, the impact of the parties of the Left was felt in the realm of public opinion.

One of the most significant aspects of the rise of the Left was the growing strength of the British labor movement. The Labor Party rapidly emerged after the war as a leading opposition party and was soon called upon to constitute the government of one of the great European powers. Because of this increased importance, Labor's attitude toward the German problem and the influence both of its spokesmen and of periodicals associated with the movement helped shape public attitudes and inevitably affected the stability of the peace settlement.

The internationalism and pacifism which animated British Labor's ideal

of a new European order formed the basis of the Party's examination of the German problem. The postwar criticism of the Versailles settlement stemmed from the glaring contrast which Labor came to perceive between its own high-minded idealism and the performances of Allied statesmen at the peace conference.

### I.

Criticized from the very moment the preliminary peace terms were made public in May, 1919, the Versailles Treaty came to be regarded as the supreme example of a peace which would, of necessity, "poison the future and bring back war."<sup>1</sup> The Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference in London, 1918, had pledged continued support of the struggle so that the world could be made safe for democracy and declared that of all the achievements of peace, none was more important to the peoples of the world than that war should henceforth disappear.<sup>2</sup> These two tenets of the Wilsonian doctrine were fervently adhered to, as were the other aspects of the American President's program for a just peace. But the peace settlement appeared to be a betrayal of the British working class and its wartime sacrifices on behalf of a better future for humanity. And the alleged severity of the peace treaties was considered by Labor to end all prospects of a period which would bring peace and stability to Europe and foster the growth of democracy.

Labor rejected the thesis that a peace which imposed severe punishment upon Germany for her misdeeds was compatible with the preservation of peace. "The Treaty of Versailles," declared Arthur Ponsonby, "is founded on the doctrine of punishment. So long as that doctrine remains you cannot have peace. You can have either punishment or peace, but you cannot have both."<sup>3</sup> Or as E. D. Morel wrote in *Foreign Affairs*, "While that engine of oppression . . . is acknowledged as the public law of Europe, there will be no peace, there will be no disarmament, there will be no rebirth of British industry. There will be a steady sinking deeper and deeper into the morass until exasperated and tortured humanity breaks out again into bloody strife."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Thomas, *When Labour Rules* (London, W. Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., 1920), p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Party pamphlet, *Labour and the Peace Treaty* (1919), p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, Fifth Series, Vol. CLXIX (December 14, 1922), cols. 3310-11. Ponsonby, an aristocratic convert to Labor after the war, was later undersecretary for foreign affairs, 1924, and undersecretary to the Dominions Office in the second Labor government, 1929.

<sup>4</sup> E. D. Morel, "Three Years of Folly," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. III (June, 1922), pp. 187-188. All references to *Foreign Affairs* in this paper are to the London publication.

The treaty, then, was looked upon from the very beginning as an unduly provocative instrument that would inevitably lead to new disputes and antagonisms even more violent than those preceding the war and thus would promote further wars.<sup>5</sup>

While the Party was practically unanimous on this point, varying opinions were held as to the degree of punishment which might have been appropriate. The Party elements further to the Left and the pacifists, considering that the responsibility of the vanquished for the outbreak of the war was at most only relative, were not inclined to admit any justification for the harshness of the treaty. The Right, on the other hand, was more inclined to hold Germany responsible for the catastrophe. J. H. Thomas, a right-wing trade union leader, held that Germany should be taught a lesson after her criminal aggression and that the opportunity should not be lost to persuade posterity that such conduct is to be rewarded by punishment and not by profit. But the Versailles Treaty, he thought, had overstepped this theoretical limit. The peace settlement, in his opinion, failed to distinguish between the few Junkers who had planned and hoped for the war and the great mass of the German people who had had nothing to do with its coming.<sup>6</sup>

It was not forgotten that one of the most persistent keynotes of Allied wartime propaganda had been the intimation that the establishment of a democratic regime in Germany would lead to a more lenient treatment of the vanquished at the peace conference. Labor maintained that the document signed at Versailles was a complete violation of Allied declarations and that the overthrow of the Kaiser and the accomplishments of the German Revolution of 1918, whereby a Social Democratic government was installed, had not altered the fate of the German people.<sup>7</sup> Least of all could Labor approve of a peace which seemed to punish the German working classes for the crimes or the miscalculations, depending upon the point of view, of their former rulers.

Likewise, the reputed violation of the armistice terms by the Allies (particularly in regard to reparations) was considered to be indefensible. It was significant that the Party's pamphlet entitled *Labour and the Peace Treaty* reproduced not only protests issued by the German Social Democratic and Independent Socialist Parties, but also a summary of the official German counterproposals presented to the peace conference. The *New Statesman* had come to the conclusion as early as May, 1919, after the counterproposals

<sup>5</sup> A. G. Cameron, President's Address, *Report of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Labour Party*, 1920, p. 112.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-193.

<sup>7</sup> Party pamphlet, *Labour's Policy on the Peace Treaty* (1921).

became known, that for the first time in nearly five years justice was not on the side of the Allies but on that of the Germans.<sup>8</sup>

The day would inevitably come when Germany would have to be left to her own devices, and in Labor circles it was almost universally thought to be infinitely preferable that she should go her own way under the guidance of a democratic regime which could, with the support of German opinion, contribute to the final pacification of Europe. But the shock of the Versailles Treaty and the subsequent trend of events left few illusions at quite an early date as to the realities of the situation. J. Ramsay MacDonald, with his many personal contacts and wide knowledge of conditions in Germany, warned that the situation in that country was not promising and that Allied policy, in spite of the seeming docility and impotence of the Reich, was heading for disaster. In reality, he thought, the Allies were implanting the spirit of militarist reaction in the German mind and teaching German industry, through hardship, how to prepare for the conquest of the world.<sup>9</sup>

Still, it would seem that MacDonald, convinced as he was that a durable agreement between the Allies and Germany was the only hope for peace, was not inclined to see in the German Socialist and moderate elements the only, or even the most desirable, agents of reconciliation. When the first Labor government was preparing to assume office in 1924, the prospects were that, contrary to the trend in Great Britain and France, a government of the Right would come to power in Germany. It has been stated by a close observer that such a possibility was not at all unwelcome to MacDonald, since a settlement with the German Right could be considered more binding than a settlement with the more moderate elements.<sup>10</sup> The position of the moderate forces in Germany, watched with concern by British Labor, was steadily decaying, a fact due in part to the association in the popular mind of the moderates with the *Diktat* and its consequences. Still, it does not seem unnatural that, anxious as MacDonald was to reach a satisfactory settlement with Germany, the degree of acceptance which such an agreement might find among the German people as a whole should take precedence over partisan preferences. If such was really the case, however, it signified that the Labor leader had come to place more emphasis upon ending the

<sup>8</sup> Cited by Carl F. Brand, *British Labour's Rise to Power* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1941), p. 161.

<sup>9</sup> J. Ramsay MacDonald, editorial, *Socialist Review*, Vol. XX (September, 1922), p. 102.

<sup>10</sup> George Glasgow, *MacDonald as Diplomatist* (London, Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1924), p. 55. MacDonald in 1917 had expressed his doubts about the then-popular equation between democracy and peace and had predicted that "A democratic Germany will, indeed, have no difficulty in finding many opportunities in the next generation to challenge the decision of this war and to write a sequel to it more congenial to the German spirit than the record that is now being made."—(*National Defence, a Study in Militarism* [London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1917], p. 84).

unsettled state of European affairs than upon preserving German liberalism from its domestic enemies.

## II.

Actually, the prevalent Labor view was that nothing short of treaty revision on quite a large scale and at an early date could assure the continuing confidence of the German people in their democratic leaders, since the most burning issue in German politics was the *Diktat* and the apparently humiliating position to which the nation had been reduced. British Labor conducted a determined campaign in favor of revision. A situation thereby arose which is not an unfamiliar phenomenon in both domestic and foreign affairs. Elements of the Left and of the Right sometimes, for very different reasons, adopt similar attitudes. In the matter of treaty revision the position of the British Left seems to have been closer to that of the German reactionaries than to that of the German Left or even of the German Center, for the Labor demands for immediate and substantial revision went further, in any case, than the policy of fulfillment usually associated with the name of Stresemann.

Indeed, Labor criticism of the treaties was often couched in general terms which called in question the very bases of the peace settlement and which, taken at their face value, could have been interpreted as demands for the scrapping of treaties. A joint manifesto of the Parliamentary Labour Party and the National Executive of the Party, issued June 1, 1919, declared that the Treaty was defective, not so much because of this or that detail of wrong done, but *fundamentally*, in that it accepted and was based upon the very political principles which had been the real cause of the war.<sup>11</sup>

One of the most radical demands for revision of what was believed to be the fundamental moral basis upon which the Versailles Treaty was constructed was that concerning the question of war guilt. The campaign against the *Kriegsschuldluge*, which became so persistent in postwar Germany, was based upon Article 231 of the treaty. This article, "a legal statement of claim against Germany and her allies for such reparation as they could make for damage done in a war which their aggression had brought on,"<sup>12</sup> in Seton-Watson's phrase, was nothing more than an attempt to erect an adequate basis for the assessment of financial claims against Germany. While it might be reasonably maintained that the association of reparations demands with the question of unprovoked aggression was legally necessary but politically

<sup>11</sup> *Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of the Labour Party*, 1919, p. 217.

<sup>12</sup> R. W. Seton-Watson, *Britain and the Dictators* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1938), p. 70.

unfortunate, the fact remains that the treaty itself did not pass any definite moral judgment on Germany.

Nonetheless, the German thesis, whose most consistent and open advocate in Great Britain was E. D. Morel, was frequently sustained in Labor circles. The Versailles Treaty was, in Morel's view, admittedly based upon the pretention that the defeated nations alone were morally responsible for the war.<sup>13</sup> Morel hoped that the governments of the Left which assumed office in both Great Britain and France in 1924 would be willing to appease German nationalist opinion. Not only did he press for the recognition of Germany as a great nation worthy of a position of parity with Great Britain and France, but the question of war guilt was again raised. "Will they allow her to plead before the Hague Court, or such other tribunal as by common consent may be selected," he asked, "against the charge of sole guilt for the war, upon which the entire mechanism of punishment imposed upon her by the Treaty of Versailles and the succeeding Conferences is elaborated, a charge which she has never been given the opportunity of attempting to rebut?"<sup>14</sup> This suggestion, of course, was never taken up. But the progression of events by which Allied policy towards Germany assumed a somewhat different course was thought to have some bearing on the war guilt controversy. The admission of Germany to the League of Nations and the opportunities which she afterwards had of participating in the process of reconciliation led MacDonald to observe, somewhat naively, in 1926 that ideas of war guilt had become as antiquated as Tower Hill and its block.<sup>15</sup>

Aside from such general considerations, Labor's dissatisfaction with the territorial arrangements was made clear. The Wilsonian doctrine of self-determination and the rights of nationality had figured prominently among the war aims of Labor. Motivated principally by the desire to prevent the formation or the preservation of trouble spots which might envenom the peaceful relations of neighboring states, the position was taken that any territorial adjustments which might be necessary should conform to the wishes of the inhabitants. The memorandum on war aims which was drawn up at the London conference in December, 1917, dealt in a very general way

<sup>13</sup> E. D. Morel, editorial, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. II (February, 1921), p. 118. F. W. Jowett, too, in the course of his President's Address at the 1922 Party conference stated: "It [the Treaty of Versailles] is founded on a lie—the most deadly destructive lie in the history of the world—the lie that Germany alone was responsible for the war. The whole policy of punishment embodied and elaborated in the Versailles Treaty . . . is the spawn of that lie. There is no excuse for believing that falsehood."—(*Report of the Twenty-Second Annual Conference of the Labour Party*, 1922, p. 169).

<sup>14</sup> E. D. Morel, "Is It a New Start?," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. VI (July, 1924), p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> J. Ramsay MacDonald, editorial, *Socialist Review*, New Series (September, 1926), p. 6.

with the future territorial settlement.<sup>16</sup> Alsace-Lorraine was to decide by a plebiscite, under the control of the projected League of Nations, whether it would remain with Germany or be annexed by France. The principle of self-determination was likewise to be applied to Luxemburg and the border areas of the future Polish state. The proposal of a Balkan federation, implemented by a custom union, and expressions of sympathy for the inclusion of Italians who had been left outside the national boundaries completed the program. Nevertheless the actual peace settlement, the dominating feature of which was the principle of nationality, failed to conform to Labor's ideals in that field.

The clauses of the Treaties of Versailles and Saint-Germain which expressly prohibited the union of Austria with Germany, except under conditions which were almost impossible of fulfillment, were frequently cited as an especially unjust decision. H. N. Brailsford considered such a prohibition the most flagrant denial of the principle of self-determination,<sup>17</sup> and the National Executive of the Party declared that, in conformity with that principle, the people of German Austria should have had the free and unrestricted right to decide for themselves whether they would become one of the German federal states or remain independent; any other solution, it was declared, would be an act of injustice and repression of national impulses which might well imperil European peace.<sup>18</sup>

But criticism of the settlement was not confined to the question of Austrian union with Germany. The Allies were criticized for other decisions concerning Austria, which the *New Statesman* referred to as "the crippled creature . . . flung on the map of Europe."<sup>19</sup> Colonel J. C. Wedgwood, at the time the Treaty of Saint-Germain was placed before the House of Commons, served notice that Labor would in the future sympathize with the desire of the South Tyrolian Germans to be restored to the mother country.<sup>20</sup> The boundary in that area, he insisted, had not been fixed on ethnic lines in order to satisfy the promise made to Italy in the secret Treaty of London. While welcoming the plebiscite which was to be held at Klagenfurt, Wedgwood raised objections to the cession of Marburg, in South Styria, to Yugoslavia, and noted that no plebiscite was to take place in western Hungary. The inclusion of Pressburg, which he erroneously described as a solidly German city, in Czechoslovakia was likewise criticized.

<sup>16</sup> "Preliminary Peace Proposals, Manifesto of the National Executive of the Labour Party," *Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of the Labour Party*, 1919, p. 216.

<sup>17</sup> H. N. Brailsford, *Olives of an Endless Age* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1928), p. 55.

<sup>18</sup> "Preliminary Peace Proposals," Manifesto of 1919, *loc. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> *New Statesman*, Vol. XIX (August 26, 1922), p. 550.

<sup>20</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, Fifth Series, Vol. CXXVII (April 14, 1920), col. 1731.

The inclusion of the fringe of territory known as the Sudetenland in the new Czech state was the object of special attention. The fact that the German population of that area had not been consulted as to its preferences was again the principal reason for Labor dissatisfaction. The resulting position of "Three million Germans . . . relegated to a position of unwelcome strangers in a State which originated and exists in the interests of another race" was deplored by the magazine *Foreign Affairs*.<sup>21</sup> The *New Statesman*, observing that the Sudeten Germans possessed a near monopoly of industrial capital and administrative experience, concluded that the life of the new state would depend upon its ability to win their loyalty.<sup>22</sup> "But as long as French influence is dominant in Prague," warned the *New Statesman*, "a conciliatory attitude towards the Bohemian Germans is almost impossible, and if it continues to be dominant the Czecho-Slovak republic will inevitably be disintegrated, with results quite disastrous to the very object at which French policy is aimed."<sup>23</sup> A similar position led Brailsford to the conclusion that the Sudeten Germans could easily have been detached, at the time of the peace conference, in order to join their racial kinsmen.<sup>24</sup>

But it was the boundaries of Poland which led to the most outspoken condemnation. While the Polish corridor and the arrangements concerning Danzig were considered to be unsatisfactory, since large numbers of Germans were severed from the homeland, the disposition of Upper Silesia was considered to be the prime example of partiality. The fate of this area, which was particularly rich in industrial and mineral resources, had been left unsettled by the Treaty of Versailles, provision having been made for a plebiscite. After the plebiscite had resulted in 707,605 votes being cast in favor of union with Germany and 479,359 in favor of union with Poland, the Allies were unable to agree upon a solution and the affair was referred to the League of Nations. The resulting partition of the district, in which several important industrial areas and rich mineral deposits were turned over to Poland, was considered by the Labor Party newspaper, the *Daily Herald*, to be further proof that the League had been set up by the Allies for the purpose of giving the appearance of moral authority to thoroughly immoral decisions.<sup>25</sup> France, in consistently supporting the Polish claims, was thought to be motivated by the desire to weaken Germany in every possible way. French finance, it was predicted, would control the Silesian

<sup>21</sup> J. C. Johnstone, "The German Problem in Czechoslovakia," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. VI (May, 1923), p. 236.

<sup>22</sup> *New Statesman*, Vol. XV (July 17, 1920), p. 409.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> H. N. Brailsford, *Across the Blockade* (London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1919), p. 149.

<sup>25</sup> *Daily Herald*, editorial, October 17, 1921, p. 4.

coal mines—a step leading to the further consolidation of the monopoly of European coal supplies at which the French were thought to be aiming.<sup>26</sup> Every loss of natural wealth, it was pointed out, reduced Germany's capacity to meet her heavy obligations, while every gain by Poland, in the Labor view, strengthened "the most reckless militarism in Europe."<sup>27</sup>

Indeed, the question of the Polish frontiers continued to hold the attention of some Labor and pro-Labor circles even after the formal Party demands for treaty revision had disappeared. The *New Statesman*, especially concerned with that issue, outlined its position in clear and unequivocal language. Stressing once more the importance of the problem which was raised by the Polish Corridor and the industrial towns in Upper Silesia, that review observed in 1925 that "The German case is overwhelming in all save Polish eyes, and somehow or other they will be reunited to Germany this side, let us say, of 1940. The problem which deserves attention is not the question of whether Germany is entitled to recover these territories . . . but the question of how she is to recover them without precipitating a new war, which neither she nor anyone else desires."<sup>28</sup> Continuing a week later its analysis of the Polish problem, the *New Statesman* made clear its position in regard to Article 10 of the Covenant. Upon receipt of an anonymous letter which called the attention of the editor to the inconsistency of the foregoing remarks with British obligations under the Covenant, the attitude was taken that "if the point were to be insisted upon, the British Government would have no alternative but to repudiate the Covenant. If Article 10 means the preservation of palpable injustices then so much the worse for Article 10!"<sup>29</sup> This, one of the rare Labor or pro-Labor pronouncements which squarely faced the problem of the relationship between British commitments under the League Covenant and the much-criticized territorial settlement in Eastern and Central Europe, underlines the sense of urgency with which the question of territorial revision was approached.

### III.

In any consideration of the frequency with which demands for treaty revision were later expressed, one episode stands out: the reaction of the Parliamentary Labour Party when the Versailles Treaty was presented for the consideration of the House of Commons. The failure of the Parliamentary Party to state the real attitude of Labor toward the peace terms was not due to any reticence on the part of the Party leaders. Arthur Henderson, in

<sup>26</sup> H. N. Brailsford in *ibid.*, August 2, 1921, p. 4.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *New Statesman*, Vol. XXIV (April 4, 1925), p. 736.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, April 11, 1925, pp. 764-765.

a speech at Blackpool on June 22, 1919, had warned that the Labor Party could not accept the treaty as it stood. Labor's demands for a just peace, he emphasized, could be satisfied only when the treaty was reconstructed.<sup>30</sup> Henderson's stand was approved by the Party conference which opened at Southport on June 25, the date of the publication of the final text of the treaty, and closed on June 27, the day preceding its signature. The resolution which placed Labor on record in favor of treaty revision was moved by MacDonald and seconded by J. R. Clynes. The enthusiasm with which the resolution was carried stressed the solidarity of the right-wing trade-unionist elements with the Party Left.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, the Parliamentary Labour Party had joined with the National Executive in issuing the manifesto of June 1, 1919, condemning the preliminary peace proposals as a repudiation of Allied declarations.

William Adamson, the Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party, who had on previous occasions refrained from making any significant comment upon the peace terms, had nothing definite to say when the Treaty of Peace Bill was given its first reading.<sup>32</sup> On the second reading, the position taken by J. R. Clynes, the vice-chairman, enabled Lloyd George to maintain later that no fundamental criticism of the treaty had come from any section of British opinion at the time.<sup>33</sup> Clynes, it is true, deplored the possibility that the treaty would lead to the development of a spirit of revenge on the part of the defeated peoples. But it was conceded that the German people would have to pay for a long period a heavy and bitter price for their guilt. Clynes, the sole Labor spokesman in the debate, added that in the Parliamentary Labour Party's view the treaty, with all its defects, was the work of men who had been motivated by the highest patriotism and the "noblest considerations for human government."<sup>34</sup> The most vehement criticism of the treaty and the most uncompromising demands for its revision were to come later, but the Labor spokesmen in Parliament had failed to place on record an attitude which had already been made clear.

Philip Snowden later accounted for the failure on this occasion by pointing

<sup>30</sup> Philip Snowden, *An Autobiography* (London, Ivor Nicholson & Watson Ltd., 1934), Vol. II, p. 327.

<sup>31</sup> Brand, *op. cit.*, p. 162. The Trades Union Congress later was formally associated with the resolution, upon a request from the Labor Party Executive. The Congress resolution was carried by a large majority.—(Fifty-First Annual Trades Union Congress, Glasgow, 1919, *Report of Proceedings*, pp. 255–257).

<sup>32</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, Fifth Series, Vol. CXVII (July 3, 1919), cols. 1232–33.

<sup>33</sup> David Lloyd George, *The Truth about the Peace Treaties* (London, Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1938), Vol. I, pp. 730–735.

<sup>34</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, Fifth Series, Vol. CXVIII (July 21, 1919), col. 961. See also William Maddox, *Foreign Relations in British Labour Politics* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1934), pp. 203–204.

out that most of the Labor M.P.'s, mainly trade union nominees who were principally interested in industrial questions, were new to the House of Commons. Clynes's distaste for raising violent opposition was also given a portion of the blame by Snowden.<sup>35</sup> That the Parliamentary Labour Party was weak in leadership at that time is true. The "Khaki Election" of 1918 had sent only fifty-seven Labor M.P.'s to the House of Commons, while nearly all of the important Party leaders, including Henderson, MacDonald, Snowden, and Lansbury, were defeated.

With the return of those men to Parliament in 1922 Labor's criticism of the peace settlement gained in intensity and effectiveness. To the organs—speeches, manifestoes, periodicals, and books—which had been publicizing the Labor stand was now added the House of Commons. Resolutions condemning the peace treaties were passed at the Party conferences in 1920, 1921, and 1923. "When Labour comes into power," J. H. Thomas prophesied, "The Treaty will be revised," adding that a thorough revision would be practically impossible before Labor's coming to office.<sup>36</sup> MacDonald himself reaffirmed his own position in July, 1923, when he warned that there could be no peace in Europe until the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles were revised.<sup>37</sup> It was clear that the economic provisions of the treaty, especially those concerning reparations, figured prominently among the points which were thought to require immediate revision. The reparations clauses, together with the political profit which France proceeded to draw from them, received heavy criticism from Labor quarters. And the general way in which official statements concerning treaty revision were sometimes worded could reasonably be interpreted as leaving the Party free to choose the direction which any efforts in that field would take. The Labor program put forth in the 1923 general election had, for instance, somewhat ambiguously called for the immediate summoning of an international conference, which was to include Germany on equal terms, "to deal with the Revision of the Versailles Treaty, especially Reparations and Debts. . . ."<sup>38</sup>

On the other hand, the intensity of the criticism dealing with the territorial settlement left no doubt as to opinion on that subject. This aspect of the problem was brought to the fore by Arthur Henderson's speech at Burnley after the first Labor government, with MacDonald as Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, had taken office. Henderson, who was Home Secretary in the new government, stated on that occasion, "All of us who value world peace and desire to see the inauguration of a new era of international co-

<sup>35</sup> Snowden, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 530-532.

<sup>36</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

<sup>37</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, Fifth Series, Vol. CLXVII (July 23, 1923), col. 85.

<sup>38</sup> *Report of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Conference of the Labour Party*, 1924, p. 192.

operation and good will must insist as an absolute essential upon the revision of the Treaty of Versailles with all expedition possible." Henderson emphasized that revision of the territorial, as well as the economic, aspects of the Versailles Treaty was not only essential but very much overdue."<sup>39</sup>

When the point was raised in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister categorically disavowed any responsibility for Henderson's statements. "That is Mr. Henderson's statement. Of course he is wrong," he answered. After an angry attack upon the Conservatives, who were accused of prejudicing Anglo-French relations, using pinpricks for election purposes, and pressing him needlessly, MacDonald denied any intention of the Labor government officially to endorse revision of the Versailles Treaty.<sup>40</sup>

Actually, MacDonald did succeed in bringing about an important revision of reparations through the Dawes Plan. But the Dawes Plan was by no means a unilateral step on the part of the Labor government and the success of the undertaking, which had already been initiated before Labor took office, was due to the co-operation of the French and German governments. The fact was that treaty revision in the economic sphere was considered to be necessary by all four of the European Great Powers who had signed the treaty. Revision of the territorial settlement was quite another case, however. Indeed, as Conservative spokesmen had correctly reminded the Labor government, far-reaching territorial revision, in the sense of Henderson's Burnley speech, would have meant a new treaty, and such a step, involving the consent of some thirty-two original signatories of the Versailles Treaty, was manifestly impossible. Article 19 of the League Covenant raised the question of treaty revision, but revision by the League of Nations was also out of the question, since that article empowered the Assembly to go no further than to render advice. The Henderson incident was especially vexatious to the government, however, because of the government's desire to improve relations with France. In 1924, Germany, disarmed and impotent, was seething with unrest; but the steady deterioration in Anglo-French relations made an understanding with France the prime necessity of the moment. Labor, after assuming the responsibility for governing, was forced to take into account the fact that any mention of immediate and far-reaching treaty revision was always contemplated in Paris with alarm.

<sup>39</sup> Version given by Hector McNeill in the House of Commons.—(*Parl. Debs.*, Commons, Fifth Series, Vol. CLXX [February 27, 1924], cols. 599–600). Henderson apparently assumed that policy statements of the Party Conference and the National Executive Committee were to be binding on the Labor government, while MacDonald considered them to be only general indications. See Mary Agnes Hamilton, *Arthur Henderson, A Biography* (London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1938), pp. 238–239.

<sup>40</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, Fifth Series, Vol. CLXX (February 27, 1924), cols. 606–612.

The Labor government, when faced with these realities, was compelled to refrain from raising the question of territorial revision. The Dawes Plan and the improved relations between France and Germany, in which the MacDonald government played an important role, were considered by Labor to have been important achievements in the right direction. The Party conferences ceased voting resolutions calling for revision of the peace settlement from 1924 on, and the tone of Labor pronouncements on the German question became less intransigent.

That is not to say, however, that treaty revision and what was considered to be the injustice of the peace lost all interest for the movement. The German problem was still far from settled, as the German correspondent of *Foreign Affairs* observed in 1925. Not only was the Dawes Plan distrusted by a large number of Germans, but the nation, he wrote, would never accept the Versailles Treaty as final. In the last analysis, the questions of the Polish Corridor and Upper Silesia inevitably led Germany to oppose all attempts to stabilize Europe on the basis of the *status quo*.<sup>41</sup> And Brailsford, in the following year, again focused attention upon the problem of German minorities. The inevitable war of the next generation, he warned, was being made in 1926, and its authors were not merely the Poles, Italians, and Czechs who oppressed Germans, but French and British statesmen who turned a blind eye to wrong as well.<sup>42</sup>

#### IV

Still, if the Versailles settlement continued, after the Dawes Plan, to give rise to the most acute anxiety in some Labor circles, there was for the most part a perceptible awareness of the fact that the treaty could be revised only within a very limited framework and that time might be counted on to heal the psychological wounds caused by Versailles. The economic measures initiated by the Dawes Plan were succeeded by the Locarno treaties in 1925. In that year a leading Party spokesman on foreign affairs, Charles Roden Buxton, could point out that the lapse of time had made significant treaty revision impossible, that such an eventuality could come about only through a very slow and delicate process, and that legitimate interests and commercial connections had grown up around the original imperfections of the treaty.<sup>43</sup> The facile optimism of the post-Locarno atmosphere was reflected in Hugh Dalton's analysis of the problem when he wrote: "To change the *status quo*

<sup>41</sup> Meyrick Booth, "Germany's Needs as Seen by Germans," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. VI (May, 1925), p. 260.

<sup>42</sup> H. N. Brailsford, "What's Left of Locarno?," *New Leader*, February 19, 1926, p. 9.

<sup>43</sup> Charles Roden Buxton, "Our Relations with Germany," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. VI (January, 1925), p. 152.

is not simply, in this modern age, to move frontiers, but to enter into international arrangements that cut across frontiers. . . ." The only practical solution, he thought, was to take frontiers for granted and to work not towards their revision but towards their obliteration. "Let justice be done within the present frontiers, let communication and trade and personal intercourse be facilitated across them, and . . . in a happier and less inflamed future, frontier revision may come to seem both less impossible and less important."<sup>44</sup> Labor opinion towards treaty revision, of which Dalton's viewpoint was a fair sample, had undergone considerable modification under the hopeful spell of Locarno.

Nevertheless, the prevalent attitudes of the pre-Locarno era could by no means be completely dispelled. Even after the rise to power of Hitler there remained within the Labor movement serious misgivings about the extent to which opposition to German revisionism would be morally justified. And in retrospect it seems certain that the Nazi dictator's success in reversing the balance of power under the guise of treaty revision was abetted in no small way by important segments of public opinion in countries which might otherwise have been prepared to oppose German expansionism.

<sup>44</sup> Hugh Dalton, *Towards the Peace of Nations* (London, George Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1928), pp. 45, 47.

### *Graduate Program in Latin American Studies*

A graduate program in Latin American Studies has been instituted at Louisiana State University. The program offers the Masters of Arts Degree with a thesis or a nonthesis option with the following areas of concentration: anthropology, finance-economics, geography, government, history, sociology, and Latin American literature. The program is intended (1) to prepare the

student for nonacademic careers in government, business, or foreign service and (2) to equip the student to continue his graduate work in his chosen area of concentration. Inquiries should be addressed to Graduate Program in Latin American Studies, 150 Himes Hall, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge 3, Louisiana.

# The Ross Impeachment Vote: A Need for Reappraisal

CHARLES A. JELLISON  
UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

THE STATURE OF EDMUND G. ROSS, Reconstruction senator from Kansas, has loomed increasingly large in recent historical literature as a result of what is generally considered his selfless and courageous stand in voting for the acquittal of President Andrew Johnson in the 1868 impeachment trial. No less an historian than the late James G. Randall repeatedly extolled in lavish terms the character and conduct of the young Kansas senator. More recently Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts in his Pulitzer-Prize-winning book, *Profiles in Courage*, saw fit to list Ross among the great heroes of American history, while in the introduction to Kennedy's book, Professor Allan Nevins declared Ross's impeachment stand to have been in accordance with "the finest standards of Anglo-American legislative bodies."<sup>1</sup> As a capstone to the belated recognition given Ross by a grateful nation, the likeness of the young senator from Kansas, together with an adman's account of Ross's greatest moment, has now been put to use by the Treasury Department to encourage the sale of United States savings bonds. All this for a person whose name would scarcely have been mentioned without an oath or a snarl by most Americans ninety years ago, and all this, furthermore, for a person who was only partially, and perhaps accidentally, deserving of the honors now being bestowed upon him! In fact, certain compelling evidence indicates that Ross, far from being a hero, was in reality somewhat of a political trimmer in his impeachment behavior. This evidence, which has long been readily available to even the most casual researchers but which has hitherto been given surprisingly little attention, seems to suggest that a careful reappraisal of Ross's impeachment role is long overdue.

"I almost literally looked down into my open grave."<sup>2</sup> So wrote Edmund

<sup>1</sup> John F. Kennedy, *Profiles in Courage* (New York, Harper, 1955), p. xii.

<sup>2</sup> Edmund G. Ross, "Historic Moments: The Impeachment Trial," *Scribner's Magazine*, Vol. XI (April, 1892), p. 524.

Ross many years after the event as he recalled that highly dramatic moment on May 16, when he was called upon to cast his vote in the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson. And, politically speaking, Ross's "open grave" estimate of the situation which confronted him was not far from wrong. It was true that then in the spring of 1868 the young Kansan stood face to face with the approaching end of his career in national politics—a predicament which, however, was only slightly, if at all, related to the events and circumstances of the impeachment imbroglio. Long before this time, in fact, Ross had doubtless resigned himself to the realization that his stay in Congress would almost certainly be a brief one, and that he would return to Kansas at the end of his Senate term (March, 1871) and resume the life of a small-town newspaper editor. Apparently no alternative existed, at least not until the Johnson impeachment trial offered him some hope for political salvation.

Edmund Ross, less than forty years old at the time of his arrival in the United States Senate, was a political accident. He had no substantial following in his home state, and he was certainly in no way considered a prominent political figure among his Kansas Republican colleagues. He had, however, as an outspoken free-soil editor during the Kansas turbulence of the late 1850's, gained a certain limited popularity and fame, and later as an officer in the Union Army during the War, Major Ross had compiled a respectable military record. He was, in a word, generally recognized by his neighbors in the postwar world of Kansas Republicanism as a likable and capable fellow of safe and sound, though not outstanding, radical fiber. Certainly few people, including Ross himself, envisioned any sudden political rise for the young editor. Nevertheless, not long after Republican Senator James Lane of Kansas in a fit of despondency took his own life in July of 1866, it was Major Edmund G. Ross who was appointed by Governor Samuel Crawford to fill out Lane's unexpired term. "An honest, straightforward soldier of sterling worth and unflinching courage," Governor Crawford declared in commenting on the new appointee.<sup>3</sup> The Governor might have added that Ross was also politically available and inoffensive to the Republican bosses of the state, and that the job for which Ross had been chosen was not an especially sought-after one—at least not at that particular time. In January of the following year the Kansas legislature, amidst a flurry of political bargaining, narrowly and unenthusiastically endorsed Governor Crawford's choice.

To the politically unbaptized Ross the Governor's appointment came as a

<sup>3</sup> William F. Zornow, *Kansas, A History of the Jayhawk State* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 124.

bolt from the blue. Neither actively nor otherwise had he sought the office, and he was ostensibly at a loss to understand why he had been so honored.<sup>4</sup> Actually, however, there was neither great mystery nor miracle involved in his selection. In those days, when United States senators were still elected by the state legislatures, there was a marked reluctance on the part of many of the more prominent political figures in the various states to accept interim appointments to the United States Senate. An interim appointment to any office, it was felt, generally carried with it limited prestige and a restricted (sometimes dangerously so) opportunity for wielding political influence. But to accept such an appointment to the Senate was considered by many to be doubly imprudent, since acceptance meant attendance in Washington, and attendance in Washington meant leaving the home-front unguarded against one's aspiring political competitors. Consequently, in those dark days before the wonders of mass media could assure congressmen effective communication with the folks back home, many far-sighted politicians, desirous of a regular Senate berth, preferred to resist the temptation of the interim Senate appointment, which, although immediate, was also apt to be ephemeral. Far wiser, they reasoned, to remain at home and occupy oneself with the protean business of building up support among the party faithful (especially in the state legislature), thwarting the attempts of political rivals, and in all other ways marshalling the forces needed for victory in the regularly-scheduled election ahead. It was this sort of cautious attitude among the hopefuls of Kansas Republicanism that helped account for the selection of the politically insignificant Ross in the summer of 1866.

Edmund G. Ross, then, was sent to Washington in 1866 as little more than a place-holder, with no appreciable backing at home, and consequently little or no chance of becoming anything more than a temporary fixture in Congress. A dexterous and plentiful sprinkling of Federal favors among the right people of Kansas could conceivably have strengthened his position among the home folk, and thereby given him at least an outside chance of continuing his incumbency. But with Democratic President Andrew Johnson carefully parcelling out the patronage, the hopes of the Republican Ross in that direction seemed slim indeed. In a word, the job that Ross had taken on was a political dead end—and no one understood that fact more clearly than he himself. Therefore, the "open grave" confronting Ross nearly two years after his arrival in the Senate was no exaggeration, but it wasn't at all as he later described it.

Exactly why Ross, an avowed Radical, decided finally to vote for acquittal in May of 1868 will probably never be known. To say that he voted

<sup>4</sup> Edward Bumgardner, *The Life of Edmund G. Ross* (Kansas City, Missouri, Fielding-Turner Press, 1949), p. 57.

for Johnson in a deliberate attempt to obtain patronage and other favors from the President, or even that he was consciously influenced by any consideration of this sort, would be brash in view of the inconclusive nature of available evidence. It would, however, be blinking the obvious to suppose that Ross was not fully aware of the tremendous implications for himself and his political future involved in the situation confronting him. To go along with the crowd by siding with the Radicals as he had almost consistently done since his arrival in Washington, would be the path of least resistance for the Kansas fledgling. But would a Ross vote for conviction, only one among a multitude (and an inconspicuous one at that), be personally profitable? Probably not. At least, until this day there has been uncovered no reliable evidence that Ross, despite the tremendous pressures brought upon him by Republican colleagues and public alike, ever received from the Radicals, or anyone else, any serious offer of political or monetary favors.

To vote for Johnson, on the other hand, could conceivably unlock important doors for him in the event of the President's acquittal. Perhaps this sort of reasoning passed through Ross's mind on the early afternoon of May 16 as he listened to the voting of his Senate colleagues and weighed the President's chances from his strategic position near the end of the alphabet. Perhaps not. All this is conjecture. But one point is not conjecture: by the time the roll call had reached his name, Ross was, by his own admission, reasonably certain that his vote, as yet uncommitted, could tip the scales against conviction, and that by voting in favor of acquittal he could cast himself most conspicuously in the role of presidential savior.<sup>5</sup>

Whatever his reasons may have been for voting as he did, whatever the true circumstances involved, it is eminently clear that the Junior Senator from Kansas lost little time in "cashing in" on his vote after the President's acquittal. It now appears, in fact, that James G. Blaine was more correct than even he himself supposed when, half in jest, he remarked to a friend as he saw Ross entering the White House grounds only a few hours after the climax of the trial on May 16: "There goes the rascal to get his pay."<sup>6</sup>

On Friday, June 6, barely three weeks after the decisive impeachment vote of May 16, and less than a dozen days after the final abandonment of impeachment attempts on May 26, Ross sent to President Johnson a long and surprisingly emphatic request for patronage favors. In a letter, carefully

<sup>5</sup> Edmund G. Ross, *History of the Impeachment of Andrew Johnson* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: New Mexican Printing Company, 1896), pp. 131-32.

<sup>6</sup> Bumgardner, *op. cit.*, 86. In his excellent study, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1907), Professor William A. Dunning revealed that Ross had unseemly attempts to secure patronage favors from Johnson following the impeachment trial. The point was mentioned only in passing, however, and no specific details or instances were brought forth by Dunning in support of his assertion. See p. 107.

marked "Private," he reminded Johnson of an "earlier interview" on the subject of patronage, and went on to state that he was particularly anxious for the President to appoint his (Ross's) friend, Newton Robinson, to the Southern Superintendency of Indian Affairs, one of the choicest patronage plums in the nation. "There is a large amount of patronage connected with that office," Ross wrote, "making it very valuable to the possessor if he chooses so to use it." Ross expressed regret that Johnson would have to remove one of his own friends to make room for Robinson, "but this appointment is of such vital importance to me in the effort that I am called upon to make for my maintenance in consequence of my action on the Impeachment, that I feel constrained to ask for a change at once. . . ."<sup>7</sup> Within four days the President had removed his own appointee from the superintendency and had submitted Robinson's name to the Senate. A week later the Senate, meeting in executive session, confirmed the appointment of Ross's friend to the much-sought-after Indian office.<sup>8</sup>

The Robinson appointment was followed in quick order by several other requests by Ross for presidential favors. On a single day (July 10) the Kansas Senator recommended three of his friends to the President for Federal positions, and only a few days after this, Ross wrote to Johnson urging him to sign a bill which would release government land to a Kansas Coal Company. Clearly Senator Ross was using the grateful President to strengthen himself politically. "I am aware that I am asking a good deal of you," he wrote to Johnson in early July, "but I feel constrained to do so by the persistent efforts that are being made for my destruction, and also feel warranted in doing so by the many assurances of kindly personal regard that I have received from you."<sup>9</sup>

This, then, was the man who has of late been cast in the hero's role for his impeachment vote—Edmund G. Ross of Kansas, a political cipher who, despite his dramatic "open grave" assertions, actually had everything to gain and very little to lose by voting as he did. When contrasted to the post-impeachment behavior of other "Not Guilty" Republicans,<sup>10</sup> Ross's conduct, viewed from any angle and in any light, appears to have been somewhat less

<sup>7</sup> Edmund G. Ross to Andrew Johnson, June 6, 1868, Johnson Papers (Library of Congress).

<sup>8</sup> *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America, 1867-1869*, Vol. XVI (Washington, 1887), p. 263.

<sup>9</sup> Ross to Johnson, July 10, 1868, Johnson Papers. See also correspondence from Ross to Johnson dated June 23 and July 15.

<sup>10</sup> With the exception of Peter Van Winkle of West Virginia, the remaining "recusant" senators were most circumspect in their post-impeachment relations with the President. This was particularly true of Senators William Pitt Fessenden of Maine and J. B. Henderson of Missouri. See especially: Fessenden to Charles Peters, June 4, 1868, and A. S. Stephens to Andrew Johnson, June 2, 1868, both in Johnson Papers.

than exemplary. It would seem, in fact, that the most charitable conclusion that can possibly be drawn from this closer glance at Ross's over-all impeachment behavior is that, whatever his motives may have been for voting against conviction, the young Kansas senator was enterprising enough to see to it that his vote paid off. Such conduct, while common enough among politicians of that time and this, is hardly the stuff of which real heroes are made—hardly, indeed, in keeping with "the finest standards of Anglo-American legislative bodies."

### *A Bibliography of Latin-American Travel Literature*

Completion of plans for an eight-volume bibliography of travel literature on Latin America in modern times has just been announced by C. Harvey Gardiner, professor of history in Southern Illinois University. The series, conceived with the co-operation of Southern Illinois University Press, is intended to enrich and broaden the base for research in the era of Latin-American independence, particularly in reference to social and cultural aspects.

The contributors and areas are: Rayford W. Logan, Howard University (Caribbean), Franklin D. Parker, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina (Central America), J. Leon Helguera, North Carolina State College (Colombia and Venezuela), J. Preston Moore, Louisiana State University (Peru and Ecuador), Charles W. Arnade, University of Florida (Chile and Bolivia), Joseph T. Criscenti, Boston College (Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay), Ruth Lapham Butler, Newberry Library (Brazil), and Gardiner, who, in addition to

serving as general editor for the series, is producing the volume in Mexico.

Under the general title of *A Bibliography of Travel Literature on Latin America*, these volumes will consist of annotated bibliographical entries for each travel account, book or article, by natives and foreigners, treating the period between independence and 1920. Every attempt will be made to have the bibliographies complete and exhaustive. The bibliographers will cite each account described.

The format calls for information about the author of the travel account, his itinerary, the duration and dates of his travels, and the subject matter of his account. The general editor will provide a brief introduction to each volume, and the individual bibliographer will provide an essay on his area. A detailed analytical index is projected for each volume also.

Present plans call for publication of the first two volumes in 1962-63. Thereafter it is hoped that the project can be completed at the rate of two volumes a year.

# The Prospects of the U.S. Water Study Commission for Texas

FREDERIC O. SARGENT  
ONTARIO AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

SENATOR LYNDON JOHNSON, in his efforts to contribute toward solving the Texas water problems, was instrumental in securing passage of a bill by the Eighty-fifth Congress in August, 1958, which established a U.S. Water Study Commission for Texas. The purpose of this Commission is to "provide for an integrated and cooperative investigation, study, and survey . . . in promotion of the conservation, utilization, and development of the land and water resources of the Neches, Trinity, Brazos, Colorado, Guadalupe-San Antonio, Nueces, and San Jacinto River Basins."<sup>1</sup>

Ever since the early Texas settlers pushed westward from the wooded areas and coastal plain to the prairies and hill country, the development and the management of water resources have been matters of importance in Texas. This interest has taken the form, in this century, of establishing state and federal agencies, commissions, and committees to plan the rational development of water on a state basis.

In 1913, the State Board of Water Engineers was established and given the assignment of assisting in planning the development of water resources. Beginning with the Brazos River Authority in 1929, numerous river authorities were created by the state legislature and given the responsibility of making master plans for their respective watersheds.<sup>2</sup> In the 1930's, a rash of federal agencies were authorized to work at water-resource development. The principal ones are the Corps of Water Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Soil Conservation Service, and the Federal Power Commission. In 1953, the Water Resources Committee was established to develop a long-range water policy and conservation program for the state. In 1957, the

NOTE.—The author is indebted to his former colleagues at Texas A. and M. College for many valuable suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> Public Law 85-843, 85th Congress, H.R. 12216, August 28, 1958, Title II, Section 201 (a).

<sup>2</sup> "Texas Water Resources Planning at the End of the Year 1958," Texas Board of Water Engineers, December, 1958.

state legislature established the Texas Water Development Board and the Texas Water Resources Planning Division of the Board of Water Engineers. The purpose of the former is to make loans for water-resource development. The latter is authorized to "make recommendations to the legislature for the maximum development of water resources of the state."

Now in the process of organizing and commencing work is the U.S. Water Study Commission for Texas, the subject of principal concern in this paper. The Commission consists of fourteen members, six of whom represent federal agencies. Seven are to be appointed from the seven drainage areas listed in the statute and one, the chairman, is to be a resident of the area under study. With the creation of the Commission, a number of questions arise: what can this federal commission do, what are its limitations, what are its possibilities? Will it succeed in developing a master plan for water-resource development where the individual river authorities and the various planning agencies have failed?

Anyone familiar with the problems concerning water development in Texas knows that these are extremely complicated questions with a variety of facets and to answer them all in detail would require a series of monographs. This paper proposes to outline in brief form only some of the more serious problems, limitations, and opportunities of this latest commission and to suggest a logical future program for water-resource planning in Texas.

The U.S. Study Commission is limited in several ways by the federal statute. One of the principal limitations, with respect to a state water-plan, is geographic. The law states that this Commission is authorized to study the Neches, Trinity, San Jacinto, Brazos, Colorado, Guadalupe-San Antonio, and Nueces River Basins and intervening areas. This description leaves out the parts of Texas bordering other states, such as the Red River Valley, the Sulphur, the Cypress, the Sabine on the east, and the Rio Grande watershed on the southwest. Also excluded are areas which are not in any watershed, such as the coastal drainage area encompassing Kenedy, Kleberg, and Brooks Counties, large parts of Duval, Jim Wells, Jim Hogg, and Nueces Counties, and a corner of Starr, Hidalgo, and Willacy Counties. In addition the entire Canadian watershed is excluded.

The Commission is further restricted in scope by virtue of the federal statutes which set forth the assignments of federal agencies. The six federal agencies represented are the Department of Commerce, the Department of Interior, the Federal Power Commission, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the Department of the Army. Each of these federal agencies has statutory responsibilities along with well-established and very well-defined points of view which undoubt-



edly will be upheld by their representatives on the Commission. For instance, the Corps of Engineers of the Department of the Army is most interested—and this is in accord with federal statutes—in navigation and flood prevention by construction of large dams and other works on the main stem. The Soil Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture is primarily concerned with the small watershed program which it is authorized to administer. The S.C.S. focus of interest is on upstream land treatment and small watershed flood-prevention structures on tributaries.<sup>3</sup> The Bureau of

<sup>3</sup> "Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act," Soil Conservation Service, U.S.D.A., PA-392, May 1959.

Reclamation of the Department of Interior is required by statutes to concern itself chiefly with developing irrigation works to bring new land under cultivation. The Bureau has already developed a proposal to supply water to south Texas by a canal which would transport the "surplus" water from southeast Texas.<sup>4</sup>

Representatives of the six government agencies are highly qualified technical experts who can be expected to make maximum contribution in their fields in so far as the policies and procedures of their organization permit. Five of these government representatives are engineers; one is a conservationist. Unfortunately, the areas of interest of these agencies leave several large and important areas untouched. For instance, it may be asked, which of these agencies will take the initiative in promoting or advocating flood-plain zoning? From a study of their activities in the past, it appears that while most of the agencies are well aware of the need for flood-plain zoning, none has this special interest or responsibility. This question may also be raised: which of these agencies will be concerned with the development of recreational facilities? Each agency pays lip service to the importance of recreational development. However, when it comes to justifying projects for purposes of financing, they will be required by the provisions of federal statutes that authorize their activities to emphasize flood prevention, reclamation, or some other purpose which may be, in many instances, of less importance than recreation. Which of these agencies will advocate a unified control of all dams in a single watershed to reduce flood damage and improve water-quality control? Judging by past experience, we can only hope that new leadership will arise which will work on this crucial problem of water control co-ordination.

The six representatives of federal agencies will be associated with seven state members. The state members are to represent the river authorities named in the law. The individuals representing these river authorities will, it may be assumed, make a conscientious contribution to the work of the Commission. However, there are several questions concerning the representativeness of the board members of river valley authorities. Representation of the Valley Authorities on the Commission would be justified if all these authorities were actually engaged in planning the development of the whole river valley. Some Valley Authorities, such as the Lower Colorado River Authority, have had considerable, invaluable experience in planning, developing, and managing the resources of a river for multiple purposes. Other authorities in this list exist primarily on paper, and have had little or no experience in actually developing and managing water resources.

<sup>4</sup> "Water Supply and the Texas Economy," Department of Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, Senate Document No. 57, 83d Congress, 1st Session, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953.

Another difficulty, faced by river authority members in Texas, is that the interest in the upstream, midstream, and downstream residents of a valley may be entirely different. In the Brazos River Valley, for instance, the interests of the upstream, midstream, and downstream users are quite different and conflicting. These differences have made planning of the Brazos extremely difficult and have led to considerable friction and litigation.

The Texas Board of Water Engineers, authorized by the Texas Legislature to conduct comprehensive planning, is not represented in the Commission. This oversight will have to be rectified by close co-operation between the state agency and the U.S. Commission. Another aspect that is criticized by some is that, in addition to the omission of a representative of the Texas Board of Water Engineers, the state colleges, the University, and other state agencies engaged in research on water problems are not represented.

As a basis of evaluating the work which the Commission will do, a list of the state's principal unsolved water-resource development problems will be useful. One problem is the conflict between upstream and downstream users. A case in point is the current conflict between the city of Houston and the Trinity River Authority concerning which will construct certain dams and structures on the Trinity River. Secondly, it will be necessary for someone to analyze, objectively, the developing conflict between agricultural uses of water and industrial and urban uses. This conflict may become most pronounced in the event farm ponds and small watershed dams impound so much water that water supplies needed for urban and industrial areas are seriously impaired. A third major problem is that of analyzing and estimating the need for water development with reference to present and potential demand to satisfy industrial, municipal, and recreational purposes. Fourth, there is urgent need for thorough and objective benefit-cost evaluation before we commit ourselves to spending millions of dollars over a period of several decades. Finally, no master plan for water development in Texas can be complete without a clarification of the confused, often contradictory, riparian and appropriative water-rights situation.

Can the U.S. Study Commission for Texas solve these problems? An indication of the answer is found in their work plan for the study program which was adopted by the Commission on April 6, 1959.<sup>8</sup> This document lists in detail the subjects which they plan to study, the reasons for studying each one, and the source of the data which they plan to use. Also included is a calendar indicating the time they will work on each section. It is significant that the last two subjects listed are "Project Planning" and "Report Preparation," and no time is yet allocated to these activities during the period 1959 and 1960. By their own statement, the U.S. Study Commission will spend

<sup>8</sup> U.S. Study Commission-Texas, *Work Plan for Study Program* adopted April 6, 1959.

two years reviewing previously collected data. Nothing in their work plan indicates that they will get down to the serious business of making a comprehensive state-wide water-resource development plan, nor, because of the statutory limitations on federal members and the unresolved intra-watershed and inter-watershed conflicts in the background of the State Commission members, is there any assurance that they could successfully work at such a task if they should assume it.

To summarize the prospects of the U.S. Water Study Commission for Texas, let us list briefly the strong and weak points of this Commission, make a comparison with previous planning agencies, and conclude with a statement concerning the future need for further study, planning, and action by a state agency.

The U.S. Water Study Commission has a number of points in its favor. It will be adequately financed. This is very important as it will permit the Commission to hire the personnel needed for highly specialized research. Second, it will be made up of competent, experienced personnel, representing both a variety of federal bureaus and the state river authorities. It will be able to draw upon the data collected by all state and federal agencies and will be able to start where other planning bodies have left off.

On the other side of the ledger are some notable handicaps. The Commission suffers from geographic limitations on its authority. The fact that the Commission is limited to the major intrastate watersheds prevents it from developing plans that encompass the whole state. The Commission is also limited by the fact that many state agencies with an active interest in water-resource development are not represented on the Commission.

A comparison of the prospects of the Commission with past attempts at state-wide planning favors the Commission. If the Commission only consolidates data collected by state and federal agencies into comparable form, it will make a significant contribution. The data collected by river authorities have been by necessity on a narrow watershed basis. Neither have the river authorities been able to make valid economic analyses as the watersheds do not constitute economic regions. Other planners, such as the Texas Water Resources Planning Division of the State Board of Water Engineers, and the Water Resources Committee, have lacked adequate funds for comprehensive state-wide resource planning. The Texas Water Development Board has yet to make a significant contribution in financing water projects.<sup>6</sup>

Now let us consider the Commission with reference to future planning requirements of the state. This can best be done by outlining the type of

<sup>6</sup> See: Constitutional Amendment, Section 490 of Article III, adopted by voters on November 5, 1957. Also Texas Water Development Board, Progress Report, February 1, 1959.

planning agency which would avoid the weaknesses of the U.S. Commission and supplement its work.<sup>7</sup>

The work of the U.S. Commission should be followed by the establishment of a State Water Resource Planning Board. Such a board should be made up of all the principal state agencies concerned with water use and development. This would include the Board of Water Engineers, the State Department of Public Health, the Game and Fish Commission, the Texas Forest Service, the State Soil Conservation Board, the State Parks Board, the Railroad Commission, the University of Texas, Texas Technological College, and Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. This board should be authorized to study future water requirements and make recommendations to the state legislature, not to the federal legislature. It should be authorized to concentrate on problems of planning on a state-wide basis and should be provided with sufficient funds to hire the necessary research and planning specialists. The difficult assignment of this board, with its staff of experts, would be to establish priorities with reference to state needs and to suggest alternative means of financing the successive stages of a comprehensive water-resource development program.

Texas has developed into a major industrial and agricultural state as a result of its abundant natural resources and with the help of generous federal assistance (in water-resource development the U.S. Army Engineers, Bureau of Reclamation, and Soil Conservation Service). The state is now experienced enough to become the senior partner in planning and financing its own development. The strongest argument for this course of action is found in the alternatives. With continued dominance of federal agencies in planning and financing, water-resource development will be focused largely on flood prevention and irrigation projects with a pronounced tendency to underplan and underdevelop water resources for other purposes. With comprehensive planning by a wide-based state agency it would be possible to develop fully water resources not only for flood control and irrigation but also for industry, municipalities, quality control, fishing, boating, swimming, sailing, park sites, residences, and for all other desired water uses. Such multiple-purpose planning would provide a necessary prerequisite for continued rapid growth of the state's economy.

<sup>7</sup> See Frederic O. Sargent, "Criteria for Appraisal and Planning Water Resource Development Agencies in Texas," *Land Economics*, Vol. XXXVI (February, 1960), pp. 43-51; and Sargent, "The Political and Economic Framework of Water Resource Development Research," *Journal of Soil and Water Conservation*, Vol. 15 (July, 1960), pp. 151-157.

# *Pravda* and *Izvestia* Look at Korea

EDWARD B. RICHARDS

SOUTHWESTERN LOUISIANA INSTITUTE

SINCE THE SOVIET PRESS IS CONTROLLED and expresses the views of Soviet leaders it can be used as a guide to the attitudes and intentions of the Soviet Union concerning any specific issue with which the Soviet public-prints deal. While the Soviet press does not necessarily reveal what Russian or Communist public opinion *is*, the press does establish what the Soviet Government *wants* Russian and Communist opinion to be.

Because of the nature of the Soviet state, reading of the numerous Soviet press organs to ascertain official policy need not be extensive. Local newspapers in the U.S.S.R. rarely contradict either the facts or opinions expressed in *Pravda* and *Izvestia*. Therefore, an examination of those two newspapers provides an accurate index to official Soviet party and government attitudes toward any given situation.

From the end of the Second World War until 1948 and 1949 Korea was occupied in the north by Soviet troops and in the south by American military forces. This military occupation, the result of a military decision taken during the Second World War, became an obstacle to the postwar political unification of Korea. While the average Westerner had available to him an abundance of press comment concerning Korea, the average Russian's primary source of information concerning Korea was, of course, the government-controlled press.

To say that *Pravda* and *Izvestia* were reticent about Korea during the early months of the occupation is an understatement. Four of the five articles printed by the two papers in 1945 were innocuous stories concerning the arrival of the Red Army in Korea.<sup>1</sup> The fifth article simply contained the results of the Moscow Conference held in December, 1945.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I. Rassolov, "V Koreiskom portu" (In a Korean Port), *Pravda*, August 25, 1945, p. 3; B. Runin and A. Zhuravin, "Vozdushnyi desant v Kanko" (Aerial Landing in Kanko), *Izvestia*, August 28, 1945, p. 3; V. Belikov, "V Iaponii" (In Japan), *Izvestia*, September 8, 1945, p. 4; A. Bulgakov, "Kanko," *Izvestia*, September 22, 1945, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> "K itogam Moskovskogo soveshchaniia Trekh Ministrov Inostrannykh Del" (Results of the Moscow Conference of Three Foreign Ministers), *Pravda*, December 28, 1945, p. 1. See also *Izvestia*.

Possibly this situation revealed a lack of Soviet interest in Korea in the latter months of 1945. In view of subsequent articles in Soviet newspapers and periodicals, however, it is more probable that the method of reporting Korean events was one of deliberate intent rather than of disinterest.

Not until after the Moscow Conference did *Pravda* and *Izvestia* begin giving their readers a regular account of events in Korea. Prior to the Moscow Conference, Korean affairs had been in a state of flux without any formulated policy above the military level. Following the Moscow Conference a definite program existed for the development of Korea as an independent state. From that time on, readers of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* were presented with a very sharp and dogmatic picture not only of what was happening in Korea but of what had allegedly happened during the last five months of 1945 about which the two papers had remained silent while the events were taking place.

The first six months of 1946 found *Pravda* and *Izvestia* establishing, for their readers, a pattern of conditions in Korea to which they remained consistent for the entire period of the occupation of Korea and beyond. The pattern also fitted into the general postwar foreign relations of the U.S.S.R. and the United States and reflected the growing tension between the two great powers.

The first detailed report of Korean political activity to be printed in either paper appeared in January, 1946.<sup>3</sup> This account discussed the "spontaneous" rise of People's Committee in Korea after the destruction of the Japanese army in Korea and described the aims of these "progressive forces." The aims were (1) the end of the operation of Japanese laws, (2) the confiscation of land belonging to Japanese and the gratis transfer of that land to the peasants, (3) the nationalization of banks, transportation facilities, and industry that had belonged to the Japanese and to Korean traitors, and (4) the guarantee of freedom of speech, press, assembly, social organization, etc. These ambitious aims were calculated to appeal to broad masses of the Korean people who had experienced economic and political suppression for thirty-five years under Japanese domination.

The article dealt with South Korea as a secondary matter and "exposed" the "reactionary" Syngman Rhee clique as an obstacle to the fulfilling of the "democratic" desires of the Korean people. In the article, published before the convening of the Soviet-American Joint Commission, Syngman Rhee was labelled a reactionary politician whose long absence from Korea had put him out of touch with the Korean people and their "true" wishes.

The second article concerning Korea to be published by either *Pravda* or

<sup>3</sup> V. Smolenskii, "Koreia na puti k vozrozhdeniiu" (Korea on the Road to Revival), *Izvestia*, January 12, 1946, p. 6.

*Izvestia* appeared four months later.<sup>4</sup> In this article Smolenskii revealed a great deal of information that he had neglected to mention in his January article. The January article had not implicated the United States in the alleged "nefarious" political activity being conducted in South Korea by Syngman Rhee and others in his organization. In May not only was the United States the instigator of the "persecution" of the "democratic forces," i.e., the People's Committees, in South Korea, but Syngman Rhee had been expressly "imported" by the United States to carry out the American policy of "imperialist expansion." Of course, by May 22, 1946, the Joint Commission not only had met but had broken down over the inability of the American and Soviet delegates to agree on a definition of "democratic" political parties and social organizations in Korea. This situation in the Joint Commission may have served to remind Smolenskii of the details of American "duplicity" that he had overlooked at the time of the January writing.

To say that the readers of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* were not given an inkling earlier of what the United States might do in Korea is not altogether fair. In January, 1946, *Izvestia* had reported that a statement had been issued by the Communist Party, the People's Party, and the National Party of Korea supporting the Moscow Decision.<sup>5</sup> The article expressed "surprise" at General Hodge's "encouragement" of a "reactionary" demonstration in South Korea on January 12 against the Moscow Decision. Obviously any man who encourages "reactionary" activities bears watching.

Smolenskii in the May article told the Soviet reader more about General Hodge than he had revealed in January. In May, Hodge was accused of having "supported reactionaries" in Southern Korea from the first moment that American troops had landed in Korea on September 9, 1945. Smolenskii had not mentioned that facet of Hodge's administration in the January 12 editorial, and the January 22 article had expressed only "surprise."

A third editorial on Korea appeared under Smolenskii's by-line in June, 1946, and continued to expose conditions in Korea.<sup>6</sup> The burden of the editorial was that the Koreans had completed the organization of a People's Republic on September 6, 1945, three days before the arrival of American forces on the peninsula. The United States had immediately set about creating conditions conducive to the activity of reactionaries, pro-Japanese elements of the population, and traitors of the Korean people, according to the article.

<sup>4</sup> V. Smolenskii, "Polozhenie v Severnoi Koree" (The Situation in Northern Korea), *Pravda*, May 22, 1946, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> "Koreiskie reaktsionary ne unimaiutsia" (Korean Reactionaries Are Not Growing Quiet), *Izvestia*, January 22, 1946, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> V. Smolenskii, "K voprosu o sozdanii vremennogo koreiskogo pravitel'stva" (Concerning the Creation of a Temporary Korean Government), *Pravda*, June 3, 1946, p. 3.

Korean political activity and the creation of People's Committees had not been confined to Northern Korea, *Pravda* informed its readers and quoted Edgar Snow to the effect that by August 31, 1945, People's Committees had been elected in 145 villages and towns in Southern Korea. The statement to which Smolenskii referred was in an article by Snow in the March 30, 1946, issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*. Snow's statement was that People's Committees had been elected in mass meetings in 145 towns and cities. However, Snow made no zonal distinction in his article.

The June editorial appeared about ten days after the complete interruption of the work of the Joint Commission, an interruption caused by the failure of the U.S. and Soviet delegates to agree either on specific details of procedure or general policy in the creation of a temporary Korean government.

If the Smolenskii articles are read in the context of deteriorating Soviet-American relations taking place during the period in which they appeared it becomes apparent that as the temperature of the Cold War fell the weight of American "responsibility" rose. The January article appeared at a time when the U.S.S.R. and the United States ostensibly were working in an atmosphere of wartime harmony and co-operating in settling postwar problems. By May and June the two great powers were drifting apart, not only in Asia but in Europe as well, and the Soviet press initiated an anti-United States policy on almost every subject with which the two countries were forced to deal. That the work of the Joint Commission on Korea broke down at the same time that Secretary of State Byrnes and Foreign Minister Molotov were failing to reach agreements at the Paris Peace Conference seems more than coincidental.

Looked at closely, the piecemeal account of Korean political activity presented by *Pravda* and *Izvestia* could hardly have failed to raise some interesting questions. It is impossible to say how many of these questions occurred to the average reader of the Soviet press because of the limited background material available to Soviet citizens.

According to reports in *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, the political life of the Koreans was extremely active. In less than a month—August 16, 1945, to September 6, 1945—political organizations had risen on local, district, and national levels to culminate in the establishment of a Korean government that was operating before the formal surrender of Japanese troops.<sup>7</sup> Activity of this nature and scope among a people who had been politically suppressed by Japan since 1910 was nothing short of phenomenal. Yet, that is exactly

<sup>7</sup> B. V. Shchetinin, "Vozhniknovenie narodnykh komitetov v. Severnoe Koree" (The Rise of People's Committees in Northern Korea), *Sovetskoe Gosudarstvo i Pravo* (Soviet State and Law), No. 4, 1947, p. 67.

what Soviet press claims—claims that were not made until months after the alleged activity had occurred—amounted to.

Although the treatment of Korea by *Pravda* and *Izvestia* did not differ in general pattern from their treatment of every other area in which the U.S.S.R. and the United States came into contact, there was a difference in specific details concerning Korea and other postwar problems elsewhere in the world.

The conflict over the Moscow Decision was centered on the establishment of a trusteeship over Korea. After thirty-five years of Japanese domination the Koreans were extremely sensitive on the question of being "protected" by any foreign power. Most Koreans objected to trusteeship in principle, let alone in practice. Trusteeship was being demanded by the Soviet press at the very moment that all Soviet propaganda organs were demanding immediate independence for India and Indo-China and preaching nationalism to the French and Italian Communist Parties.

Actually the two policies were not as contradictory as they might have appeared at first glance. Trusteeship for Korea and independence for India and Indo-China were simply two sides of the same coin—the coin of dissension that the U.S.S.R. was busily minting around the globe. The Soviet press explained to the Koreans that the giving of immediate independence to Korea in its postwar condition of impoverishment would produce only a new enslavement of the country by foreign capital and the seizure of power by a group of political adventurers.<sup>8</sup> The Soviet argument for immediate independence in India and Indo-China was that they were temporarily free from colonial oppression and the time was ripe for local leaders to undertake the government of the two countries before Britain and France could restore their prewar domination. In both cases the result was unrest among the nationals of Korea, India, and Indo-China and confusion among the Allies.

Although the North Koreans and the Korea "democratic" parties reacted to the Moscow Decision with more "spontaneous" demonstrations and guarantees of wholehearted co-operation than did the South Korean "reactionaries," according to *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, all did not go entirely smoothly in the camp of the Soviet-dominated Koreans. In February, 1946, a conference had been convened to consider the creation of a Central People's Committee.

One of the decisions made at that conference was to work toward accurately explaining to the whole population the "true" meaning of the Moscow

<sup>8</sup> V. Smolenskii, "Concerning the Question of the Creation of a Temporary Korean Government," *op. cit.*

Decision as the most "just" method of answering the "greatest" interests of the Korean people.<sup>9</sup> It was at this conference that Smolenskii, in the May, 1946, article, reported the political purge of "anti-democratic" elements who had succeeded in infiltrating the People's Committees. Is it possible that those purged were "anti-democratic" enough to have desired independence rather than trusteeship for their country? While the Indian and Indo-Chinese Communists' test of a loyal countryman was his support of complete and immediate independence, a Korean Communists' test of a loyal Korean was his opposition to immediate independence for Korea.

Between August 15, 1945, and June 31, 1946, *Pravda* and *Izvestia* carried exactly thirty articles dealing with Korea in any way, from simple mentions of Korea as one of the countries liberated from Japan through the lengthy editorials cited above. During the same period the Western press carried hundreds of news items, articles, and editorials about Korea. Readers of the Western press had an almost infinite variety of fact and opinion upon which to base their conclusions concerning Korea and its relations to world affairs.

The readers of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* could be expected to hold very definite views about Korea and what had been going on there by the middle of 1946. They could be expected to sympathize with the "oppressed" people of South Korea who were being used as "pawns" by "reactionaries" and "capitalists." At the same time, the leading organs of the Soviet press added a hopeful note to the situation for their readers by giving accounts of the "progress" and "achievements" being accomplished in North Korea. Such was the condition of Korea in 1946 as Soviet newspapers and periodicals presented it to their readers.

<sup>9</sup> B. V. Shchetinin, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

# Book Reviews

Edited by

H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

ROBERT C. COTNER: *James Stephen Hogg, A Biography*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1959. 617 pages. \$7.50.

The writer of this comprehensive biography of James Stephen Hogg ranks this famous Texas attorney general and governor along with Stephen F. Austin, Sam Houston, and John H. Reagan as one of the four greatest statesmen of Texas, a rating with which most present-day Texans would probably agree. Without doubt, Governor Hogg left a lasting impression upon the political memory of the state, for no Texas political leader has been more frequently mentioned by later Texas politicians, whether conservative, moderate, or liberal, who have sought to measure their own records by the superior standard of statesmanship which he set. To a considerable degree he provided a model for succeeding governors, and he may be said to have created precedents which have contributed to the subsequent character of the governorship of the state. In a period when state governors were beginning to emerge as leaders in policy-framing and legislation, Hogg was in the forefront. Certainly, his political career, which extended from the post-Civil War era to the turn of the present century, has become one

of the great legends of Texas political lore. This biography should make him better known to the nation and should help establish his place more definitely among the political leaders of his day in the history of the country at large.

While Hogg's terms as attorney general (1887-1891) and governor (1891-1895) antedated the development of the progressive movement of the early twentieth century, he was, after his death, proclaimed by Woodrow Wilson as a forerunner of that movement. This thesis Cotner seeks to sustain throughout this work. Hogg's program of reform, however, was much more limited than the programs of later progressive governors in other states. His chief concern was with law enforcement in a still essentially frontier state which had only recently come out of Reconstruction and which was having its initial experiences with industrialization and the operations of the newly emerged "trusts" and "malefactors of great wealth." As attorney general, he "instituted suits which eventually restored to Texas over one million acres of land illegally obtained by railroads . . . drove forty 'wildcat' insurance companies from the state, phrased a strong anti-trust law . . . and championed a strong railroad commission." He himself listed his principal reforms as gov-

error as "(1) the railroad commission law, (2) the railroad stock and bond law, (3) the alien land law, (4) the county and municipal bond law, and (5) the corporation land law." After his retirement from the governorship in 1895 he became a staunch supporter of William Jennings Bryan and advocated after 1900 some of the newer reforms of the budding progressive movement. In his closing years (1901-1906), however, he was largely preoccupied with the early development of the oil industry in the state, a fact which gave rise to the charge that "he became a deserter from the forces of reform," an allegation which his biographer attempts, with considerable pains, to refute.

Hogg has also been charged with having been a demagogue during the time he was active in state politics and when such leaders as Tom Watson, "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman, and James K. Vardaman were coming into their own in other Southern states. There can be no doubt, however, that he stood out in sharp contrast to these rabble-rousers. This biography makes abundantly clear Hogg's honesty, sincerity, largeness of character, and public-spiritedness. It further shows that he was substantially a middle-of-the-roader who steered clear of the more radical nostrums of the Farmers' Alliance and the Populists and who fought as well the reactionaries of his own Democratic Party and of the waning state Republican Party. While he did not develop a genuine political machine, he was a product and a skilled manipulator of the convention system of party nomination which prevailed in his time.

Definitely this study of Hogg is su-

perior from the standpoint of scholarship, even if it might be charged with a shade of bias in favor of the subject. The writer has made thorough use of the plentiful source materials available. Strange enough, coming fifty-three years after the death of Hogg, it is his first full-length biography.

O. Douglas Weeks  
The University of Texas

WILLIAM FOOTE WHYTE: *Man and Organization, Three Problems in Human Relations in Industry*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin Inc., 1959. 103 pages. \$4.50.

This excellent little book presents in somewhat revised form three lectures given at Dartmouth in October, 1958, that dealt, consecutively, with a philosophical, a theoretical, and a practical problem. The philosophical problem—undoubtedly not the only one considered by students of industrial relations—is that of freedom of the will versus determination. In discussing "Organization and Environment," the author points to the weaknesses of the "human relations approach." Work flow, type of work, specific technology, surrounding culture, and similar factors affect workers and management in such a way and to such a degree that mutual understanding will not solve the arising difficulties. While these factors appear to be impersonal forces, they are at least partially subject to conscious decisions of men: the structure and organization of the industrial enterprise can be redesigned, the work flow can be changed, technologically caused difficulties may be attenuated or done away with, and

patterns of human interaction can be changed. Even the surrounding culture is man-made and consists of learned behavior. Relearning is possible, even for adults.

The chapter concludes: "If we undertake to solve human relations problems simply through the manipulation of the direct face-to-face relationship, then we will find that the really major improvements are beyond our reach. However, if we learn to deal with the environmental forces that influence the social system, and if we learn to change the pattern of interaction among men, there are tremendous possibilities for improvement ahead of us." Thus the primacy of free will over determination by inhuman forces operating on man is ascertained.

The second chapter deals with a theoretical or conceptual problem: "What are the major concepts that we need to use in analyzing the behavior of man in organizations, and how do these concepts relate to each other? Can we put them together in some kind of useful theoretical system?" Whyte emphasizes actual observation of actions rather than questionnaire investigation of attitudes. He specifically disagrees with Parsons who "expresses a great interest in 'action,' and indeed the word is in the title of three of his books. This would lead one to think that Parsons was interested in the actions of people—in what they actually do. In this case the appearance is deceptive. Parsons is instead concerned with 'the orientation of the actor to the situation.' In the world of Talcott Parsons, actors are constantly orienting themselves to situations and very rarely, if ever, acting. The show is constantly in rehearsal, but

the curtain never goes up. Parsons focuses on the process whereby the individual sizes up his social environment and makes up his mind about what he might do. At this point he stops. It is precisely at this point that some of us wish to focus our attention." This paragraph may well become a classic in the evaluation of today's most popular theorist.

Interaction is to be studied in the manner of Chapple and Arensberg by counting frequency and measuring duration. To this may be added Whyte's own method of observing spatial relations among people in various situations. He finds Bales's scheme of classification of interactions too complex for the use in field studies, preferring that of Lawrence, who uses four of Bales's categories and adds a classification according to five topics. Whyte finally embraces Homans' scheme as simple and testable. The latter's category of "sentiments" is equated with "attitudes" which are now accepted as an essential and necessary part of interaction theory. While rejecting Homans' distinction of external and internal systems, he accepts his categories of socio-cultural and technical-physical elements in the environment to which he adds legal and economic elements. A theory emerges which centers upon relations among "environmental forces," "symbols," "interactions," and "activities" in certain specific selections and sequences.

The author must certainly be commended for his emphasis on the testable and observable aspects of his theory. One might have wished at moments that he would have gone even further in that direction, but as he puts it him-

self, "The test of a theory is not its logical elegance. It is rather the fruitfulness of the theory in pointing to useful new research programs and new possibilities of theoretical refinement."

The third chapter deals with "The Application of Research Findings to Organization." The author proceeds from the assumption that a scientific research worker is interested in having his findings applied. If the research worker himself is not making certain that they are applied, they will not be. To achieve application he suggests that from the very outset of the research undertaking, that is, before actual planning really begins, the researcher and the management of the organization in which he wishes to do research be in full co-operation so as to discover their mutual interests and individual idiosyncrasies.

Although the author is well aware of the moral implications arising for the scientist who desires practical application of his findings, he appears not to hesitate to throw in his lot with management. He does not completely subscribe to the statement of some research man whom he quotes: "Management has been very good to us, so we would like to be helpful to them." But he feels that it is his duty to "make the study useful to the industry . . . [and] to see what changes . . . could [be made] while at the same time retaining what seemed to me from a scientific standpoint the heart of the study." While, in theory, the interests of management and labor somehow fuse in "the interest of the industry," this interest is difficult to define and the discussion shows more concern with the needs of management than those of labor unions. It may well

be that in actual practice Whyte is not only practical but also impartial; however the student of this chapter does not learn how to achieve this stance. Aside from this criticism, the third chapter may be recommended for inclusion in any collection of articles on sociological research procedures.

Throughout, the discussion is abundantly illuminated by practical examples. Nowhere does the theorist Whyte let the research-man Whyte drop from sight. The book can be highly recommended as required reading for classes in industrial sociology; however, the practicing sociologist in industry also will gain considerably from reading and meditating these three chapters.

Franz Adler

University of California (Davis)

WILLIAM KORNHAUSER: *The Politics of Mass Society*. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1959. 256 pages. \$5.00.

Bourgeois critics of communism interpret it as a movement drawing its membership from excessively class-conscious elements of the proletariat; in a similar fashion, Marxist critics apply a "class" theory to fascism, viewing it as drawing its membership from excessively class-conscious bourgeoisie. Fallaciousness of these class theories can be seen from the fact that while both fascism and communism tend to draw followers disproportionately from particular classes, they at the same time attract large numbers from all classes. Further, those members of the bourgeoisie and proletariat who become either fascists or communists are very

often the least class-conscious members of their respective classes.

Such shortcomings indicate the need for an alternative theory, and it is this which Kornhauser offers us here. He argues that while class interpretations may sufficiently explain routine politics, such extremist movements as fascism and communism, growing out of crisis situations, are better viewed as "mass" phenomena.

Kornhauser's theory of "mass society" politics is a synthesis of elements drawn both from the ideas expounded by nineteenth-century aristocratic critics of democracy, who feared that the increasing "accessibility" of elites would subject them to the influence of the masses to the point where all competent leadership and control would be destroyed, and from later democratic critics who have seen modern developments in terms of "atomizing" the community and exposing individuals to domination and manipulation by various elites. From these two intellectual strands he weaves a theory which views the accessibility of elites as a condition which *may*, but does not necessarily, lead to the subversion of competent leadership; and modern society as a condition which *may*, but does not necessarily, lead to the atomization of the community and the social alienation of the individual.

The task that Kornhauser sets himself is to specify those conditions which excessively weaken elites and those which lead to the "availability" of various social elements for membership in "mass movements," i.e., movements which are millenarian, activist, irrational, and which operate outside and against the rules of the existing system.

While the theory is couched in general terms, Kornhauser's primary concern is with the relationship between "liberal democracy" and "mass society politics." Liberal democracy, based on certain constitutional rules which channel and control popular access to elites, is especially vulnerable to subversion by mass movements under the control of totalitarian cadres, i.e., fascism, communism, and, to a lesser extent, McCarthyism and Poujadism. The reason for this vulnerability is that elites have already been made accessible to popular influence through socially regulated channels and may easily be weakened to the point where they can be subjected to influence from any and all directions; further, many of the groups that are the most apt to become "masses," e.g., the lower classes, have been admitted to the electorate.

The key to Kornhauser's thinking is his notion that secondary social relationships (affiliation with groups oriented around the workshop, the neighborhood, the church, and the school, for example) play a vital role in protecting a liberal democracy from the ravages of "mass" political movements. These relationships integrate the individual into the community and protect elites from excessive outside influence. Sudden tears in the social fabric, such as prolonged unemployment, defeat in a major war, and excessively rapid industrialization, destroy these secondary relationships. Numerous individuals are thus alienated from society and made "available" for mass movements. Further, elites are weakened and exposed to the direct assaults of the "masses."

Kornhauser's book is interesting

from two points of view. As a theoretical statement designed to guide future empirical research it is provocative and insightful. It must be admitted, however, that many of the concepts need to be made more "operational" before they can be successfully employed in empirical research and certain variables must be explored more fully before the theory can reasonably claim the generality at which it aims.

From the viewpoint of ideology, the theory turns out to be a powerful plea for the maintenance of a pluralistic society as the best safeguard of liberal democracy. Only so long as secondary relationships are numerous and voluntary associations relatively autonomous can liberal democracy remain vigorous and healthy. Kornhauser is optimistic that such a condition can be maintained in spite of increasing bureaucratization, urbanization, and the growth of big business and mass communication. As a political ideologist, Kornhauser appears as an intellectual descendant of James Madison, who also saw autonomous and competing "factions" and the geographical decentralization of power as the best guarantees of constitutionalism and individual liberty.

James R. Jensen  
University of Houston

FRANCIS P. CANAVAN, S.J.: *The Political Reason of Edmund Burke*. Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1960. 222 pages. \$5.00.

M. MORTON AUERBACH: *The Conservative Illusion*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1959. 359 pages. \$6.75.

The revival of interest in Conserva-

tive thought, sparked by the publication in 1953 of Russell Kirk's *The Conservative Mind*, has made inevitable the restudy of the political thought of Burke. It has become commonplace to refer to Burke as the source of contemporary English and American conservative theory although the applicability of his ideas to the American scene has been challenged. Much of the current discussion of Burke has tended to center upon the obvious in his writings and has led to superficial generalizations as to the content of his thought. There is no gainsaying that Burke was opposed to the abstract doctrinairism of the French Revolution; that he put a high premium on the traditional mores of society, and tended to equate the existent with the good. On these foundations some have drawn the hasty conclusions that Burke was a utilitarian, opposed to reason and tending to historicism. In reality Burke's thought has a deeper meaning and the present work is an attempt to apprehend it.

A careful analysis of Burke's published and unpublished works leads the author to conclude that far from denying the efficacy of reason in politics Burke actually made it the keystone of his entire edifice. For Father Canavan, Burke's ultimate aim was to establish an ordered society based on reason—not, however, on human reason alone, but on reason as expressive of the Divine reason which lies behind the order of the cosmos. He thus places Burke in the classic Christian tradition and stresses his debt to Aristotle and the scholastic thinkers of the Middle Ages. From this point of view the traditional values of a society represent, for Burke, the cumulative reason of a people seek-

ing to understand and apply the ultimate principles of rationality underlying the universe. This method of gradually apprehending the meaning of the true is superior to that of seeking to activate it abruptly by imposing abstract concepts unrelated to the traditions and culture of a people. Hence Burke's opposition to the theorists of the French Revolution whose program could only, from his point of view, lead to the subversion of order, the ultimate value of society.

Although others will differ with these conclusions I can find no basis for disagreement with the author's interpretation. My own reading of Burke convinces me that he is a legitimate inheritor of the classic tradition with its emphasis on order and the saving grace of limit and proportion, together with its admitted bias towards aristocratic government. Burke's statement of these ideas may be obscured by the nature of his writings, many of which were compositions of the moment, but his central theme is clear enough. On the other hand the author's thesis is not as novel as he sometimes supposes. He does however present it in a scholarly and persuasive manner for which we stand in his debt. His work contributes to the formulation of a balanced evaluation of Burke as a political thinker and is commended to those interested in the meaning and purpose of that Conservatism of which Burke was so outstanding and influential an exponent.

The author of *The Conservative Illusion* has slight regard for conservatism either as an ideology or a theory. For him it suffers from an inherent inability to relate itself meaningfully to the problems of contemporary society.

In his own words: "If Conservatism cannot avoid contradiction and alienation from History, then it offers nothing to historical man except submission to necessity, resignation to defeat. But total resignation becomes aimless activity; total necessity becomes pointless freedom. Here is the final contradiction. If Conservatism will be defeated in spite of anything the Conservative may do, then it cannot matter what he does."

The burden of this rather laborious book is thus to demonstrate the futility of Conservatism and Conservatives. It is confined almost entirely to a study of Conservatism in America, prefaced by a historical introduction and a lengthy chapter on Burke. At the end the author launches into a brief attack on modern liberalism for its flirtation with conservative ideas and concludes with a theoretical refutation of the entire conservative position.

In his discussion of American Conservatism and Conservatives the author breaks no new ground. His argument is the traditional one that America lacked a suitable background for conservative development and that when Conservative theories did appear they were both reactionary and contradictory. His most valuable and interesting insights appear when he deals with Classic and Medieval Conservatism. In this area he shows a competent grasp and insight into the Platonic-Aristotelian-Augustinian tradition. His views on Burke are of interest and should be contrasted with those of Father Canavan.

In confining his detailed analysis of Conservatives to Americans he conveniently avoids dealing with their Euro-

pean counterparts whose political influence in England, Germany, Italy, and the Low Countries makes questionable the author's central thesis that Conservatism is a mere illusion.

What prevents this often interesting work from emerging as a first-class contribution is the author's intense dislike of Conservatism as such. This is evidenced by the obvious glee with which he pounces on its weaknesses and inconsistencies. This is done however at the cost of an objective evaluation of his subject. If certain types of contemporary Conservative thought approximate thought of the Late Stoa, as the author contends, this is of considerable practical significance for predicting the shape of things to come. Conservatism may be the rear guard and dragging tail of the liberal striking force but this, if true, is also important for an analysis of the dynamics of modern society. In short by attempting to prove that Conservatism, in America, at least, is naught but an illusion our author proves too much. From this "illusion" there has emerged much that is pragmatic, concrete and real. Despite Auerbach's tour de force one may hazard the prediction that the conservative point of view will continue to be persuasive for many and will thus affect significantly the course of social development. If this be "illusion" let us make the most of it!

H. Malcolm Macdonald  
*The University of Texas*

DAVID LANDY: *Tropical Childhood*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1959. 291 pages. \$6.00.

Mr. Landy's stated purpose is to

"explore and describe the process of socialization or cultural transmission through generations within the cultural and social context of a rural Puerto Rican village and to compare child training and child behavior in its predominant lower class with that of two New England groups characterized as upper-lower and upper-middle class . . ."

Mr. Landy's competence in anthropology and psychology afford him an excellent background for this study. However, had he considered in his theoretical frame of reference some of the more outstanding contributions of the sociological theorist in the area of values and institutions, such as those of Talcott Parsons and William Kolb, his study would have perhaps provided a more comprehensive analysis of the culture and basic processes of Valle Cana socialization.

After a presentation of his rationale and method, Mr. Landy presents an ethnographic sketch of the Puerto Rican village, Valle Cana. He concentrates on the family as the major socializing agent and delineates the means by which its members attempt to inculcate socially desirable behavior in the child. His major emphasis is on child-rearing techniques and practices, rather than on the content of the value system, as the major determinant of desirable behavior. This appears to lead to his later assumption that Vallecaneese conform in behavior almost solely through fear of external sanctions. I disagree at this point, since I do not feel that any social system could long exist with the fear of external sanctions as the major motivating force for adherence to socially desirable behavior. In my opinion, par-

ticipants adhere because they feel that such is "right" and their actions are motivated by their notions of "the right" which are internalized and become an intrinsic part of their personality. These notions, by evoking the attitudes of awe, reverence, and respect, compel them to obedience.

Mr. Landy's neglect of scientific controls in his comparison of the groups makes any reliable and valid comparisons untenable. The groups are significantly dissimilar in ethnic origin, historical consequences, economic level, geographic environment, etc. Thus, with so many uncontrolled variables operating, to ascribe differences or similarities in behavior to the use of different or similar child-rearing practices is difficult.

Mr. Landy, however, has made several outstanding theoretical contributions. His data point to the need for a modification of both the learning and the psychoanalytic theories. He has illuminated the mechanisms operating in super-ego development, and his theorization in regard to the low super-ego development of the Vallecaneese shows a great deal of intellectual insight. His hypothesizing in regard to the causes of negativistic behavior and his predictions of the inevitable changes in Vallecaneese culture in view of the present pressures for acculturation are also notable.

M. Susan Ruppel  
Newcomb College

ERIC A. WOLF: *Sons of the Shaking Earth*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1959. 303 pages. \$5.00.

We expect Austrian-born Eric A.

Wolf to give us several good books on Mexico. This is his first one, and it is truly excellent. Wolf's greatest asset, his ability to blend the past with the present, results in a masterly presentation of modern *mestizo* Mexico written in rich and dynamic English. The title might have been better chosen, for, after all, many *Valles de las Hamacas* exist in the world—in Japan, for example. The editing is nearly faultless, although there are a few misprints, such as "capsicum anum," "hamburgesa," and "dessication."

Ethnically, most of Latin America is unique. Man could not have been born there, and even its oldest inhabitants were *Homo sapiens*. The old, childish idea of one wave of Asiatic Mongoloid immigrants has been replaced by that of successive infiltrations (Frank Roberts is not mentioned) of diverse languages and types, the oldest being impure Mongoloids and the most recent pure Mongoloids. Then came the white man, soon dragging with him the black. This mixture of the three races, made in varied ways, gave what we call Latin Americans (see Faure's *Trois Gouttes de Sang*).

A. Hrdlicka used to say that he could place everything Indian within the limits of the Christian era, and anyone who doubted this was declared incompetent. Facts have since demolished such a prejudiced opinion. Without accepting Wolf's too precise date (27,000 B.C.) for the coming of the first potential Americans, we know now that men hunted mammoths in the Valley of Mexico ten or fifteen thousand years ago. There followed an only vaguely-filled gap in our knowledge. About 1500 B.C., food-producing tribes throve

in the Valley of Mexico and elsewhere. These tribes had domesticated maize, probably long before they enlisted nature's help in the celebration of fertility rites. They had no war god yet!

Through their culture arose a long period of budding theocracy, based on the cogitations of a "leisure class" (the priestly one). That was Teotihuacán. Rightly separated from it, as a later cultural period, came the great Tollan (Tula) of the Toltecs, which influenced the Mayas of Chichén Itzá and vice versa. Then to complete the parallel with the Twin Valleys of the Old World, came the Chichimecs and Aztecs, barbarians who absorbed the preceding culture and developed militarism.

Finally the Spaniards came upon the scene. They, both great destroyers and great builders, brought to Mexico much more than they received from it. Half of Wolf's book is dedicated to those four centuries of thorough amalgamation; his pages on this are especially good.

Among the points with which I do not agree are these: Why should the Fleming who worked on the "desagüe" be given a German name? Spain is not exclusively Mediterranean in the racial sense. What about the Alpine Galicians and the evidences of their presence in Latin America? N. Vavilov is not mentioned in connection with the tuber complex, nor is Bertha Dutton on Tula. Lorenzo's later work on the prehistory of Mexico is overlooked. Vivó's geography of Mexico is listed, but not the much more interpretive one of Max Sorre. Coatlicue was not a virgin, but a widow: how else could her precocious

son Huitzilopochtli have killed her daughter Coyolxauhqui?

George C. Engerrand  
The University of Texas

C. HARVEY GARDINER (ed.): *Mexico 1825-1828, The Journal and Correspondence of Edward Thornton Tayloe*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1959. 212 pages. \$5.00.

Newly graduated from Harvard, young Edward Thornton Tayloe sought a diplomatic career the hard way. He volunteered his services as unpaid personal secretary to the first United States minister to Mexico, Joel R. Poinsett, and counted himself fortunate to get the job. From 1825 to 1828 he assisted Poinsett in the diplomatic struggle to establish the influence of the United States in the infant republic and counter the growing power of England in Mexico.

Tayloe met and assessed the men of that first fumbling attempt to establish republican government in Mexico. He thought little of the men and less of the government they attempted ineptly to operate. The first president, Guadalupe Victoria, was of feeble talent and submissive to his advisers. Lucas Alaman, the educated and traveled historian-politician, should have been intelligent, but Tayloe admired "neither his style nor sentiments nor reasoning." The government he thought to be feeble and in danger of falling into the financial maw of selfish England.

These dim views of his host country probably had little to do with the difficulty encountered by Tayloe's chief, Poinsett, in negotiating a treaty with

the Mexicans. Internal fragmentation and Poinsett's own handling of it were the more responsible.

The charm of Tayloe's letters and journal lies in his keen, good-humored reporting of things beyond politics. In his thirty-three months of Mexican residence he traveled widely. He was fascinated by the mines and proposed speculation in them. He made himself at home in flea-infested inns but counted himself blessed if a hospitable friar offered food and a bed for the night. Tayloe looked with suspicion on the religion so distant from his Virginia concepts, but his prejudice did not extend to the kindly people who represented the Roman Church.

Gardiner interweaved the letters that Tayloe wrote to his family with the journal he kept in Mexico. The task must have been difficult, but the editing is extensive, unobtrusive, and skillful. The book is of value to the scholar and should be interesting to the devotee of travel literature.

Jack A. Haddick  
University of Houston

SIR LESLIE MUNRO: *United Nations: Hope for a Divided World*. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1960. 175 pages, \$4.00.

Munro has written a noteworthy, though in some respects disappointing, book. Its noteworthiness is based in part on the eminence of the author, who, as may be recalled, has had a distinguished record of service in the United Nations. Formerly the head of New Zealand's permanent delegation to the world organization, Sir Leslie has served as a member of the Security Council, as

President of the Trusteeship Council, and as President of the General Assembly. At present, he is the United Nations Special Representative on the Question of Hungary.

The disappointment of the book stems from the fact that little in it can be considered new or unique. Aside from the author's impressions, most of the information and analyses are already on the record. Sir Leslie views the United Nations and its operations in broad perspective. In this light he presents a balanced, objective picture, taking due note of both its strengths and weaknesses and entering a plea for further use and development of its facilities and potentialities. He is particularly concerned with the establishment of an "army of peace" and with the role of the U.N. in considering problems of outer space. Sir Leslie also discusses some of the recent crises which have confronted the world, especially those in the Middle East and in Hungary. Unfortunately, though he offers some interesting ideas, his analyses are general, and his conclusions are largely restatements of positions already put forward by him as New Zealand's representative. A prime disappointment is his failure to analyze with particularity the problems he has faced as Special Representative on the Question of Hungary. One could understand his reticence in view of his continuing function were it not for his emphatic condemnation of Soviet actions in Hungary as he takes them to task for refusing to abide by the General Assembly's recommendations.

This is a book written for the general public and viewed in this light is a significant contribution. It should be read by students for its interest in and its

sympathetic insights into the operations of the U.N. rather than for specific information.

John T. Everett, Jr.  
Texas Christian University

GLENDON A. SCHUBERT: *Quantitative Analysis of Judicial Behavior*. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1959. 392 pages. \$7.50.

Schubert is among a growing number of political scientists who have diagnosed the ailment of the public law field as being essentially a lack of proper research methods and techniques. While Schubert does not deny the value of traditional methods of studying judicial activity, he does contend that there can never be a political science of public law until we adopt behavioral and quantitative tools of analysis. Specifically, he recommends and attempts to demonstrate the utility of bloc, game theoretical, and scalogram analyses, techniques borrowed from the sister social sciences. The result is not so much an account of judicial behavior as it is a manual or working guide for the application of these research methods. In fairness to Schubert it should be said that he intends no more.

Schubert's indictment of public law, and his assertion that quantitative techniques are necessary tools for an adequate description of judicial behavior leave little room for quarrel. Yet the primary cause for the bankruptcy of public law is not so much the primitive state of our research methods as it is the lack of politically relevant theoretical models which can serve as alternatives to the legalistic approach. Of course, some of the methodological techniques

suggested by Schubert should be of value in applying any such theoretical framework. As Schubert demonstrates, game-theory and bloc-analysis are particularly appropriate for research based upon small-group theory, a relatively untried approach of great potential. These techniques also appear to be well suited for the testing of conclusions drawn from the legalistic approach. Scalogram analysis, on the other hand, may be of limited utility, for there is serious doubt as to its validity when it is applied to the small number of cases normally dealt with in the study of the judiciary. Incidentally, some of the results claimed by Schubert for the methods he employs could be achieved by much simpler quantitative procedures. One curious fact about this book should also be noted: dedicated as it is to the quantitative method, no tests of statistical significance are employed. In some cases they are clearly appropriate.

Rondal G. Downing  
University of Florida

WILLIAM S. STOKES: *Latin American Politics*. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1959. 538 pages, \$6.50.

"Politics," as defined by Stokes, "is the art of realizing individual and group objectives through reconciling the competing and conflicting aspirations and demands of others." By his own admission the definition likely describes all human associations. In applying this definition, the author discusses the social structure, the economic organization, cultural traits (including religion), political theory, and the use of power, as well as the usual topics on

the three branches of government in several Latin American countries.

Though well written and containing much useful information, the book suffers from several defects. The sociological approach has led Stokes to introduce each section with some historical background which in most cases is inadequate for the student who has not had the basic course in Latin American history and too superficial for the student who has. His topical organization has forced him to illustrate his generalizations with case studies of issues in particular countries. This method unfortunately precludes a general view of individual countries and blurs the differences among them. A serious omission is the author's failure to treat adequately the power position of the bureaucracy. Though the bureaucracy is important in every country which has government welfare agencies, economic regulatory and promotional commissions, and nationalized industries, in Mexico the bureaucracy is perhaps the greatest single power element. While Stokes does treat at some length numerous administrative agencies, e.g., those in industry, with regard to their technical competence and performance, he devotes a scant five pages to the bureaucracy in politics. It appears too that Stokes could have made a much stronger case for state intervention in the economy of Latin America. He highlights its defects, but slides over its accomplishments. Highly critical of PEMEX, the Mexican government petroleum monopoly, for its early bungling, he fails to note its gains of the past five years and gives insufficient attention to the historical, political, and emotional issues involved in retaining this govern-

ment monopoly under such restrictive terms.

Included is a good index and conveniently placed at the end of each chapter is a well-rounded bibliography.

Karl M. Schmitt  
*The University of Texas*

SIMON KUZNETS: *Six Lectures on Economic Growth*. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1959. 122 pages. \$3.50.

This book, a collection of a series of lectures delivered in 1958, will be highly valuable to those interested in the economic growth of underdeveloped countries. Although the book will appeal more to those who have had a prior association with the general topic of development, it readily can be grasped by the student who is just undertaking serious study in economics.

The book is a partial summary of a larger and more detailed study which seeks to formulate a theory of economic development. In the formulation of this theory Kuznets sets forth three tasks which need to be fulfilled: (1) there must be constructed a dynamic model of the industrial system which must provide for analysis of the factors that determine trends within the system; (2) the effect of the initial structure of national states upon the development of these states' industrial systems must be determined; and (3) the pattern and mechanism by which the industrial system has spread throughout the world must be determined.

These are extremely interesting tasks, and the data and thought which Kuznets brings to bear upon them greatly assist one in becoming better informed. There are, of course, conditions necessary for

growth; Kuznets discusses these conditions, as he visualizes them, in Lecture II. His principal emphasis, not unexpectedly, is upon technology and its application to the economic order. According to Kuznets, there is a discernible pattern, exhibited by modern economic growth, which involves several phases, including those of discovery, invention, innovation, improvement, and spread. In addition to the necessary conditions there are also sufficient conditions, such as adequate capital, entrepreneurial initiative, and consumer acceptance.

The bulk of the lectures is devoted to a detailed analysis of certain aspects of economic growth for many countries, both developed and undeveloped. Many tables are presented, showing, for example, rates of growth for selected countries over varying time periods, changes in the proportionate part of national income received by different segments of the economy at different stages of development, and changes in foreign trade ratios for a number of countries in selected time periods. While it is impossible to summarize all the points drawn from the analysis of these tables, one point may be cited for illustrative purposes: "... the underdeveloped countries are further behind the developed countries in product per worker in agriculture than they are in product per worker in the nonagricultural sectors."

Familiarity with the content of these lectures will not endow one with the wisdom to predict with a high degree of accuracy the economic development of any particular country. One should, however, become enlightened on the general topic of economic growth. Moreover, he should gain an appreci-

ation of the formidable task which Kuznets is seeking to accomplish in his larger work.

Clyde L. Hall  
Austin College

K. LOVELL: *Educational Psychology and Children*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1959. 272 pages. \$6.00.

This book, aimed at an English audience, is primarily intended to acquaint British schoolteachers with the fundamental theories of major British and American figures in the field of educational psychology, particularly Burt, Valentine, Schonell, Hull, Tolman, Lewin, Thurston, and Allport.

The short introduction is followed by a chapter on motivation, which begins with McDougall's instinct theory, then alludes to Allport, Cattell, Murray, Maslow, Tolman, Mead, Lewin, Hull, and to Freudian theory. The chapter ends with a series of prescriptions, based on an eclectic approach to various theories, for motivating children. Chapters follow concerning measurement of general intelligence, aptitudes, and personality traits; the nature of perception; symbol manipulation; learning (stimulus response and field cognition theories); memory; and transfer of training. Each of these chapters also contains selected recommendations for teaching procedures. The remaining chapters deal with the special problems of educational assessment and guidance, mental retardation, social development, personal development, the preschool child, the primary school child, the adolescent, and the maladjusted or delinquent child. A ten-page chapter, concerning

the major parts of the human body, devotes the most space to the brain and its functioning.

A final chapter involves a review of statistical methods applicable to problems encountered by persons in the field of education. For the person who knows little about statistical techniques, the exposition is too abbreviated to be instructive; for the person who has a grasp of statistical methods, the chapter is superfluous. This same criticism applies to the book as a whole. However, the book may have one of the uses cited in the preface, i.e., as a reference for persons who intend to take examinations for a teacher's certificate in Great Britain.

A. Lewis Rhodes  
State University of Iowa

LAWRENCE S. BEE: *Marriage and Family Relations*. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1959. 500 pages. \$5.50.

SISTER FRANCES JEROME WOODS, C.D.P.: *The American Family System*. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1959. 585 pages. \$6.50.

Addressed to young adults, *Marriage and Family Relations* is intended to be used as a text principally in college courses. The author's avowed purpose is to present an inter-disciplinary approach to problems of marriage preparation and adjustment. He states that the book is based primarily on scientific and clinical evidence but adds that the individual's future is subject to partial control by the individual himself, a fact implying that information relative to marriage is not by itself enough for the young person; such a person must also

take into account decisions regarding values and the place of idealism in life.

The author presents data from research studies of marriage. But he also presents analyses of personality in a way which takes the student "behind the scenes," so to speak, enabling him to understand more fully the persons in marriage and their mutual adjustment. Bee is encouragingly unabashed in his discussion of idealism and in his inclusion of analyses of religious points of view, something which some authors, in their efforts to be scientific have bypassed. He states his belief that "the good marriage will be more like an epic poem or a piano concerto for two, rather than anything that could be described in terms of behavior traits, statistical factors, or cultural norms."

Among other good features of the book are an unusually good analysis of love, useful case studies, and a frank discussion of the problem of premarital sexual intercourse. The book has an adequate index, but offers no teaching aids, such as questions for discussion or a list of titles for further reading. It is written clearly and "reads easy," but this statement is not intended to imply that it has been "written down" to students. It is a welcome addition to the literature on marriage preparation. Whether or not an instructor can use it as a text, he will find it well worth referring to.

The preface to Sister Wood's work states: "This book is designed to give a comprehensive view of the American family within the social system as a frame of reference. It is a multidisciplinary approach. . . . it attempts to place equal emphasis upon all phases of the family life cycle. . . . Throughout this study there is a basic assumption that

is simple and flexible: The family constitutes a social system which is influenced by other social systems and which, in turn, leaves its impress upon them."

With this objective in mind the author ably, amply, clearly, and readably analyzes the American family and the factors operating upon it. She frankly recognizes the limitations of her approach. But such recognition of limitations is a distinct virtue in any social scientist and represents a service to the student-reader.

Many books written by Roman Catholics who are presumably social scientists have such a distinct Catholic coloring that at points objectivity is sacrificed to doctrine. They are obviously written by Catholics for Catholics. It is to Sister Frances Jerome's credit that she has achieved objectivity in this book. Hence, it is of equal value to Catholics and non-Catholics, both of whom should find it a useful addition to the literature on the family.

The book contains teaching aids: a table correlating chapters with chapters in commonly used texts, discussion questions and topics, selected readings, end-of-chapter summaries, and helpful charts and tables but not too many of them—the book is uncluttered.

Henry Bowman  
*The University of Texas*

DANIEL LERNER (ed.): *Evidence and Inference*. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1959. 164 pages. \$4.00.

This volume of essays on scientific method and concept originated in the Hayden Colloquium of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Thoughtful consideration of the essays themselves is, unfortunately, seriously

impeded by Lerner's shockingly unscientific introduction. Being clearly unwilling to permit the reader to weigh the evidence presented by the essays in a calm and objective fashion, Lerner obscures the issue by introducing a host of invalid inferences drawn only in small measure from the volume itself.

The intention of the essays is laudable. Six authors, representing as many areas of competence and interest, concern themselves with various problems of evidence and inference based on discussions of their distinctive modes of scientific procedure. The essays are, in substantial measure, notable for clarity of presentation and the modesty of their claims. They neither attempt nor achieve new insights, being content rather to reveal the striking diversity of evidence-inference relationships inherent in such fields of knowledge as medicine, law, history, and nuclear physics. Hart and McNaughton report, for example, that "the law has no single technique for connecting its conclusions with supporting data." "The generalizations of the law . . . are prescriptive rather than descriptive." This is in contrast to Lazarsfeld's concern with studies which "are quantitative rather than qualitative." Nuclear physicist Martin Deutsch reports "no recipe, no rule of procedure which will permit the unimaginative experimenter to consider all . . . possibilities by applying systematic logical analysis to all aspects of his apparatus." Indeed, he relies on "the symbolic anthropomorphic representation of the basically inconceivable atomic processes."

It is precisely this empirical demonstration of the diverse character of scientific knowledge which Lerner is unwilling to accept. He betrays the unpre-

tentious, scientific spirit of the essays by his attempt to transform this modest volume into a testament in behalf of what he terms, "with grand simplicity, Science." His quest for *the Touchstone of Science* leads him to differentiate "scientific from historico-clinical methodology"; he thus rejects as essentially nonscientific no less than two-thirds of the content of this volume, "With grand simplicity" and crusading fervor, he postulates a basically ideological understanding of Modern Science, which he associates with the rise of "a new middle class" and the destruction of the former, privileged social orders, along with their allies, "the powerful personnel of the magic and religion industries." Linked with the enemies of democracy and progress are the dialecticians, whose knowledge is improperly castigated as "secret." Socrates, Talmudists, Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin—with the shade of T. S. Eliot bringing up the rear—a motley crew of horrors, to become a massive, if somewhat undifferentiated, Bogie Man designed to frighten back into the fold any "nervous intellectuals" whose faith in Modern Science may be wavering. His enemies dispatched via the *reductio ad Hitlerum*, Lerner is then free to choose all good things for his position, all of the "more generous and human conceptions" which may have been "evolved by the modern mind," "modern European" thinking, and so forth.

Readers who survive Lerner's trial by fire and purple prose will discover in the essays themselves abundant evidence for refutation of his restrictive conception of a monolithic Science. No less clear is the implication that one who seeks scientific understanding in

the spirit of ideological partisanship will blind himself to its vital function of liberating man's mind from parochialism and dogmatism. Lerner's introduction notwithstanding, the reader of this volume is well advised to draw his own inferences.

Robert Horwitz  
Michigan State University

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN: *Social and Cultural Mobility*. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1959. 645 pages. \$7.50.

The publisher is to be commended for reprinting this important work on social and cultural mobility. Sorokin's *Social Mobility*, which remained for over three decades the only comprehensive and general treatment of the subject, makes its appearance in this new edition at a time when there appears to be a revival of interest and a renewal of research activity in the field. Concomitant with the growth of interest, after the Second World War, in social stratification, in social structure and functioning, and in such specific types of movement as migration, residential mobility, job mobility, consumption mobility, status seeking, power relations, and the like, there has been a renewed interest in social mobility along the lines ably presented in Sorokin's extended analysis.

The new edition is not a revision and shows no sign of editing, up-dating, or rewriting, a fact seeming to indicate that the author is satisfied to let the original edition stand unchanged even though, as he himself says in the new Foreword, there have been "numerous and ever increasing studies in this realm" initiated, so he thinks, by his

pioneer work. The only new feature in the present work is the inclusion of Chapter 5 from Volume 4 of Sorokin's later book on *Social and Cultural Dynamics*. The inclusion is justified on the ground that the chapter is concerned with the mobility of cultural data, a type of phenomena scarcely touched in the earlier volume on social mobility, but which is supplementary to the present work.

Minor changes include an abridgment of the table of contents and the omission of both the three-page preface and the name index. The topical index of the original is retained, but no index is provided for the chapter reprinted from *Social and Cultural Dynamics*.

Warner E. Gettys  
The University of Texas

ROBERT F. HEIZER (ed.): *The Archaeologist at Work: A Source Book in Archaeological Method and Interpretation*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1959. 520 pages. \$8.00.

This volume, designed for students of archeology, makes readily available a wealth of widely scattered sources that show how some archeologists have solved complex problems arising from field investigation. Seventy-four selections, grouped under thirteen topical chapter headings, are presented. The chapters, which do not seem to be arranged in any particular logical sequence, cover the following subjects: reconstruction of specific events (7 selections), restoration (4), reconstruction of life and customs (5), reconstruction of houses (4), prehistoric ecology (5), population (3), survey and site recognition (14), stratigraphy

and stratification (14), age-dating by rate of accumulation (2), cross-dating (1), seriation (7), lithic and metallic sources (3), and art (5). Short introductory statements precede each chapter and each selection.

This collection has its limitations. Some of these, such as omission of standard chronological techniques, are the result of the editor's deliberate intent. However, Heizer fails to comment on the very obvious fact that his choice of selections was controlled by whether selections were available in English. If language barriers had been ignored, or good English translations provided, a much better collection could have been assembled. As it is, most of the authors represented are either British or American. It is surprising to find that the field of classical archeology is almost completely ignored. One wonders why there is no chapter on artifact typology, which is fundamental in archeological procedure. Heavy emphasis is placed on work in the more complex cultures, and relatively little material is provided for the student who wants to know about special problems encountered in excavating sites of prehistoric hunting and food-gathering peoples. Here more selections from Paleolithic specialists, as well as selections from the works of South African and Australian archeologists, would help.

However, as Heizer disarmingly states, no two individuals will agree fully on a list of selections. This source book, which is the only one of its kind in English, is very welcome and will be useful to teachers as well as students of archeology. Many of the selections have great intrinsic interest and will make absorbing reading for anyone interested

in man's prehistoric past as revealed by the ingenuity of archeologists.

T. N. Campbell  
*The University of Texas*

EMANUEL POLLACK: *The Kronstadt Rebellion*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1959. 104 pages. \$3.00.

Pollack deals with an important episode in the history of the Russian Revolution. Led by sailors of the Baltic fleet, who had played a leading role in the Bolshevik revolt, the Kronstadt uprising was an attempt to halt the Revolution's drift to totalitarian dictatorship. A strike at the Petrograd Troubetskoy factory for increases in food rations was met by refusals of the City Soviet to enter into discussions with the leaders until the strikers returned to work. Armed cadets were ordered to disperse demonstrating strikers. Workers in other plants struck in sympathy, and soon political demands for the convening of a Constituent Assembly appeared. Thereupon the government declared martial law.

At this point the sailors of the Baltic Fleet stationed in Kronstadt entered the dispute. Their demands went far beyond the original issues. Demanding freedom of assembly, new elections, and review of the sentences of those held in concentration camps and prisons, the First and Second Squadrons of the Baltic Fleet, of March 1, 1921, were in fact launching an attack upon the Soviet dictatorship. The government was not slow to react. While Gregory Zinoviev, the President of Petrograd Soviet who was shot by Stalin in the 1930's, showed some hesitancy, the Soviet Government soon displayed

the ruthlessness it had already exhibited in other areas. On March 5, 1921, Commissar of War Leon Trotsky arrived and issued an ultimatum: "surrender or die." The sailors resisted, and an attack with artillery and hand grenades began which lasted for more than ten days. The rebels fought heroically, but they were overwhelmed by superior force. A number of the rebel leaders were tried and shot after surrender. Thus ended the last armed attempt to change the course of the Revolution, made by those who initially had favored the Revolution. The author has given us a detailed description of this important episode, and readers will find the material of considerable interest.

Philip Taft  
*Brown University*

WALTER FULCHER: *The Way I Heard It*. Edited by Elton Miles. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1959. 87 pages. \$2.75.

In this interesting little book of Texas Big Bend folklore, Arl Walter Fulcher (1887-1953), rancher for many years at Terlingua in the southern part of Brewster County, tells the tales as he heard them from natives of the region, mainly uneducated Mexicans. With only eight years of formal schooling, Fulcher yet had done considerable reading, both in English and in Spanish, and writes clearly and effectively, with much of "the western manner of expression." In editing the typescript which had been made of Fulcher's copy two years before his death, Elton Miles of Alpine supplied an introductory sketch of the author and a few footnotes, rearranged some sections, but

wisely left the text "practically untouched."

First we meet El Piocho, or Chin Whisker, captain of a train of ox-drawn trading carts operating in towns along the Rio Grande. A man of courage and resolution, he paid dearly for refusing to surrender to the Apaches one of his teamsters who, they said, had made war upon them with the Comanches. El Cibolo, an Indian trader with a shaggy mop like a buffalo's, was rough on thieving Indians and overbearing Spaniards. Once at a fort in New Mexico the Spaniards confiscated his hides and furs, put him in chains, and planned to kill him. El Cibolo not only escaped but returned with Indians, captured the fort, and recovered his property. Moreover, the Indians got out of hand, massacred the garrison, looted the fort, and burned it to the ground.

A tolerant Mexican husband forgave his wayward wife who had run off to live with a wild Indian and returned a year or two later with a half-breed infant. Will James, superman and maverick hunter, could stand flat-footed and jump over a horse, overtake and pull down a wild cow, and lasso coyotes and jack rabbits. "No Ketchum" participated in the so-called Ketchum Train Robbery of 1912, which failed when the robbers were killed. An account of the Domínguez clan, border *bandidos*, appears here for the first time. Various stories account for such place names as Dead Horse Canyon, the Chisos Mountains, Terlingua Creek, Butcher Knife Flat, and Smallpox Spring.

The book is illustrated with twenty full-page views of the Big Bend coun-

try, and others adorn the inside of the covers.

D. M. McKeithan  
The University of Texas

HERBERT GARFINKEL: *When Negroes March*. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1959. 224 pages. \$4.00.

Negro political activities offer students of the social sciences an invaluable opportunity to study political behavior in process. This is partly because of the fact that segregation materials on Negro politics are easier to isolate and to view in perspective than many other subjects. Then there is the importance and the excitement of the subject, since political values are important in the life of the Negro and an integral part of the Southern and National crisis of our time.

In writing on the March on Washington Movement, Herbert Garfinkel has selected for study one of the most spectacular of all the events in Negro politics. The event has increased in significance, since it now represents one of the important political techniques utilized by Negroes. The mass protest movement, since the success of the MOWM and the Montgomery Bus Boycott, has become particularly the province of the Negro. Both movements depended for their success upon the efforts of single Negro leaders. But one gathers from this work that the MOWM, unlike the Montgomery movement where the charismatic leadership of King induce mass participation, was largely an organizational accomplishment, depending upon the skill of A. Phillip Randolph and never reach-

ing the Negro masses, yet playing the role of a monster threat: "Would 100,000 Negroes have marched on Washington the First of July, 1941, had the President not issued his executive order? Would 50,000, which was another often cited figure; or even 10,000, which was Randolph's first figure? There must always be doubt."

Replete with many interviews from the principals involved and with important documents relevant to the event, Garfinkel has probed the many facets of the MOWM with great care. Rich with first-hand material *When Negroes March* is a veritable mine of information for the scholar interested in Negro political life. The work is less impressive as a study of a social movement or of the special case it represents, the Negro protest movement. Lacking theoretical discipline this book tends to run away with itself, an abandonment on occasion helped along no doubt by the author's excitement and empathy. Rudolph Heberle in his *Social Movements* and Robert Brisbane in an unpublished manuscript at Harvard have made theoretical contributions to the subject. One wishes that Garfinkel had used his vast familiarity with the subject to contribute to the theoretical problem of the Negro protest movement.

Kenneth Vines  
Tulane University

JOSEF KORBEL: *The Communist Subversion of Czechoslovakia, 1938-1948*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1959. 258 pages. \$5.00.

No country pursued a policy of

"peaceful co-existence" with the forces of Marxism-Leninism more assiduously than Czechoslovakia and no democratic statesman strove after this elusive objective more steadfastly than Eduard Beneš. His failure and the consequent destruction of the Czechoslovak democracy by the Communist coup of February, 1948, marked the dismal end of one of the most notable endeavors to accommodate Communism and democracy under one roof. How and why it so happened is the subject matter of Korbél's pithy volume.

Relying not only on written sources, published and unpublished, but also on interviews with direct eye-witnesses to the tragedy and on his own personal knowledge obtained in wartime service with the Czechoslovak government-in-exile, the author presents the reader with a well-written, thoroughly documented and absorbing story of the communization of Czechoslovakia from 1938 to 1948. He traces step by step the devious maneuvering of the leaders of the Czechoslovak Communism and their several spectacular about-faces at various stages of international developments, about-faces executed in strict accordance with the Kremlin policy switches. He gives a full account and appraisal of President Beneš's Sisyphean efforts to reach an acceptable *modus vivendi* with the Czechoslovak Communists and their Soviet mentors. In scrutinizing the causes of Czechoslovakia's tragedy he assesses, with commendable moderation and objectivity, all the pertinent factors that contributed to the country's "conquest through co-existence," such as the Soviet predominance and Western weakness in the area, the unpreparedness of Czechoslo-

vakia's democrats to meet force with force, and Dr. Beneš's own miscalculations.

Besides unmasking the true nature and purpose of the notorious Communist concept of "peaceful co-existence," the main value of Korbel's study lies in the fact that it gathers and preserves in permanent book form many valuable materials obtained from hitherto unpublished sources and from prominent participants in the events discussed in the volume. While these materials do not reveal anything substantially new about the basic operation pattern of Communist subversion, they yield rich illustrative detail and much additional documentation on what the author justly calls "the exploitation for communist purpose by perfidy and faithlessness of the institutions of free men."

Edward Taborsky  
The University of Texas

PAUL D. ZOOK (ed.): *Economic Development and International Trade*. Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1959. 134 pages. \$3.00.

Seven papers are presented from the conferences sponsored by the Jno. E. Owens Memorial Foundation at Southern Methodist University in 1958 and 1959. The names of some of the contributors indicate the general level of excellence of these essays.

Howard S. Ellis weighs the factors affecting international trade and sees a probability of expansion and a need for reasonable increase of American foreign economic aid. His final suggestion for qualitative changes in the aid program rests on popular assumptions not

substantiated in the factual and theoretical content of his paper.

Howard S. Piquet emphasizes the inconsistency of Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act escape clauses with the doctrine of comparative advantage and points to the pressing need for a workable trade policy.

"International Investment: Process and Motive," by Wendell C. Gordon, is prescribed reading for all who have accepted the currently fashionable notion that international investment can solve the problem of development for underdeveloped countries. Such a possibility is remote because (1) most of international investment consists of reinvested earnings and consequently does not represent an actual movement of capital goods, and (2) the compound interest effect of investment soon burdens the balance of payments of the investment-receiving country to an extent that impairs its capacity to import.

An informative study by Richard C. Lefarge employs the relatively new social accounts of Honduras to show foreign investment, capital formation, and increasing gross product in that United States export programs for surplus agricultural commodities, the welfare implications of the European Economic Community, and activities of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The book, pleasantly readable throughout, is suitable for undergraduate students.

Burke A. Parsons  
Baylor University

LEO GRULIOW (ed.): *Current Soviet Policies III: The Documentary Record of the Extraordinary 21st. Congress of the Communist Party of the*

*Soviet Union*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1960. 230 pages. \$6.00.

OLGA H. GANKIN and H. H. FISHER:  
*The Bolsheviks and the World War: The Origins of the Third International*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1960. 856 pages. \$10.00.

We are indebted to the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies for translating and editing the record of the 21st Party Congress of the U.S.S.R. Taken in conjunction with previous publication of the record of the nineteenth and twentieth Congresses we now have available the major policy declarations made by the Soviet leadership since the death of Stalin. The utility of these collections to students of Soviet affairs is evident. It is at these Congresses that the guide lines of Soviet policy are laid down and clues given to the internal stresses and strains within the party apparatus. Significant information is often to be gleaned as much from what is not said on these occasions as from the official pronouncements themselves.

From the present record there emerges the picture of Khrushchev as a leader firmly in the saddle and one who is tending to assume the role formerly played by Stalin. In the speeches of the delegates one notes the same unquestionable acceptance of the leader's analysis and solution of problems so characteristic of the Stalin era. For the first time, too, Khrushchev is hailed as the theoretician of the party in direct succession to Lenin. Laid down is the current party line of the "correct" attitude to be taken towards Red China on the relationship between the "two

camps," on the Yugoslavian heresy, and on the new line of economic competition with capitalist states. Although many of the speeches may be classified as propaganda and bombast and are factually distorted and statistically rigged, they are at the same time a key to the mentality of the Kremlin, the use of which we ignore at our peril and at the peril of the free world.

The second of the books under consideration is a reissue by the Hoover Library of a work which appeared in 1940. It comprises the most comprehensive collection available in translation of the documents illustrative of the origins of the Third International, and continues to be an indispensable reference for all concerned with the study of that organization. However, the work is more than a collection of documents. It is a vital and living record of the personalities and antagonisms of those who shaped the socialist movement in the period of the Second World War.

The articles and correspondence selected for publication reveal the differences of opinion and theory which separated the leaders of the time, as well as the internal intrigues, ambitions, and conflicts which fractionated the Marxist Movement. The uncompromising fanaticism of that master of revolutionary tactic, Lenin, the theoretical intransigence of Kautsky, the hopeless factionalism of the Zimmerwald and Stockholm Conferences live again for us. Through it all is the brooding sense of what might have been, now, that with the advantage of hindsight, we see how energetic and farsighted action at crucial points might have salvaged the humanitarian hopes and ideals of

the socialist movement. The record is here for all to read. The appended bibliography still remains the most extensive list of available source material for the period, and the biographical note is a convenient reference for the background of the actors in the drama. Stanford University Press has done a useful service for the scholarly community by making this work again available.

H. Malcolm Macdonald  
The University of Texas

M. D. SCHWARTZ and J. C. HOGAN:  
*Joseph Story*. New York, Oceana Publications, Inc., 1959. 228 pages. \$5.00.

This is a collection of writings by and about a leading scholar, teacher, and judge in the formative era of American law. The selections are culled from a voluminous literature to which each generation has made its contributions.

As the author of nine great commentaries, hundreds of opinions, and numerous other items, Story gave direction and coherence to our sprawling, young legal corpus. Less than a decade ago a member of our highest court observed that "to this day the solution of difficult problems in the law of admiralty inescapably takes one to Story. . . ." This was intended as an example, not the measure, of the old scholar's continuing influence. Story was also in effect the founder of the Harvard Law School and the first in its succession of world-famous teachers. Finally he served on the Supreme Court for twenty-five years with Marshall

and for nine with Taney. No one questions the vast erudition of his opinions; yet he lacked the ineffable quality that constitutes greatness on the bench. He was lost in the shadows of Marshall and Taney—each of whom knew far less law than he did. This and another aspect of Story's career—as distinct from his writing—suggest lessons of continuing value. He was appointed to the bench by a Jeffersonian for Jeffersonian purposes, but his opinions were deeply Hamiltonian.

Wallace Mendelson  
The University of Texas

JACK BARBASH (ed.): *Unions and Union Leadership*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1959. 348 pages. \$4.50.

The volume under review—a book of readings selected from numerous periodicals and a few books—is one of a group which, in the opinion of the reviewer, is already too large. Of its kind, this one is more than merely acceptable. It is in fact quite good.

Bearing the subtitle *Their Human Meaning*, the aim of the book is to accomplish five objectives: present a broad view of the thinking of such scholars as Saposs, Perlman, Taft, Bell, Hardeman, and Boulding; show the development of union leaders, their background in environment and experience, how these leaders think, what they do and why; indicate what kinds of unions have developed in the United States and for what reason; present case histories of "conflict situations" between employers and workers; and discuss special problems of unions,

political action, automation, racketeering, and racial questions centering upon the Negro.

The editor states that a criterion for his selection of articles was that no selection should contain a patent bias. He met this criterion well. Situations discussed are for understanding the general and they are interestingly and concisely written. Sources of readings are varied—about one half are from current newspapers and periodicals. Only one article was published before 1950. In the world of rapid change and especially of emerging patterns of labor management relations, this aspect of immediacy should generate interest.

The opening presentation of "The Framework" by the editor is clear and cogent. A "Topic Finder" gives page references to subjects of interest. Thus the student may use the book frequently but he need not read the book in its entirety unless he wishes. If a book of readings is desired, this one is very good for the purposes outlined.

Ruth A. Allen  
The University of Texas

## Other Books Received

June, 1960

Adler, Joshua: *Philosophy of Judaism*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960. 160 pages. \$3.00.

Anderson, Ronald A.: *Government and Business*. 2d ed., Cincinnati, Southwestern Publishing Co., 1960. 681 pages. n.p.

Anderson, William, Clara Penniman, and Edward W. Weidner: *Government in the Fifty States*. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1960. 509 pages. \$6.50.

Argyris, Chris: *Understanding Organizational Behavior*. Homewood, Ill., The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1960. 179 pages. \$5.00.

Barker, Sir Ernest: *Social Contract: Essays by Locke, Hume, and Rousseau*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1960. 307 pages. n.p.

Baughn, William H., and David Townsend: *Condition and Income of Texas Commercial Banks: The Effects of Size and Location, 1956 and 1958*. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1960. 77 pages. \$2.00.

Bossard, James H. S., and Eleanor Stoker Boll: *The Sociology of Child Development*. 3d ed., New York, Harper & Brothers, 1960. 706 pages. \$8.50.

Bowen, Earl K.: *Statistics: With Applications in Management and Economics*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1960. 415 pages. \$6.50.

Breuer, Ernest Henry: *The New York State Court of Claims: Its History, Jurisdiction and Reports*. The State University of New York, State Education Department, 1959. 55 pages. n.p.

Brown, Brendan F.: *The Natural Law Reader*. New York, Oceana Publications, Inc., 1960. 230 pages. \$3.50.

Brown, Burlie W.: *The People's Choice, The Presidential Image in*

- the Campaign Biography*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1960. 176 pages. \$4.00.
- Butz, Otto: *Of Man and Politics, An Introduction to Political Science*. New York, Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1960. 296 pages. n.p.
- Cape, William H. (ed.): *First Annual Conference for South Dakota Assessing Officers*. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Governmental Research Bureau, 1959. 89 pages. n.p.
- Carney, Francis M., and H. Frank Way, Jr. (eds.): *Politics 1960*. San Francisco, Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1960. 266 pages. n.p.
- Cloward, Richard A., Donald R. Cressey, George H. Grosser, Richard McCleery, Lloyd E. Ohlin, Gresham M. Sykes, and Sheldon L. Messinger: *Theoretical Studies in Social Organization of the Prison*. New York, State Social Science Research Council, 1960. 146 pages. \$1.50.
- Cohen, Kalman J.: *Computer Models of the Shoe, Leather, Hide Sequence*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960. 156 pages. n.p.
- Danz, Merle: *Selected Trade and Professional Associations of Texas*. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1960. 23 pages. \$.25.
- DeHuszar, George B.: *The Intellectuals: A Controversial Portrait*. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1960. 543 pages. \$7.50.
- Dutt, Guru: *Existentialism and Indian Thought*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960. 93 pages. \$2.75.
- Flowers, William Baker: *Criteria for Disclosure of Post-Statement Events*. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1960. 113 pages. \$2.50.
- Fourastie, Jean: *The Causes of Wealth*. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1960. 246 pages. \$5.00.
- Galenson, Walter, and Seymour M. Lipset: *Labor and Trade Unionism: An Interdisciplinary Reader*. New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960. 379 pages. \$6.50.
- Goldfarb, Nathan: *Longitudinal Statistical Analysis, The Method of Repeated Observations from a Fixed Sample*. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1960. 220 pages. \$5.00.
- Goodrich, Carter: *Government Promotion of American Canals and Railroads, 1800-1890*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1960. 382 pages. \$7.50.
- Greenwood, David: *The Nature of Science and Other Essays*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960. 95 pages. \$3.75.
- Griffin, Clifford S.: *Their Brothers' Keepers—Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865*. New Brunswick, N. J., Rutgers University Press, 1960. 332 pages. \$6.00.
- Grimes, Alan Pendleton: *American Political Thought*. Rev. ed., New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960. 556 pages. \$6.50.
- Hailstones, Thomas J.: *Basic Economics*. Cincinnati, South-Western Publishing Co., 1960. 513 pages. n.p.

- Hartmann, Frederick H.: *The Swiss Press and Foreign Affairs in World War II*. University of Florida, Monographs Social Sciences No. 5, Winter 1960. Gainesville, University of Florida Press. 87 pages. n.p.
- Heard, Alexander: *The Costs of Democracy*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1960. 493 pages. \$6.00.
- Heilperin, Michael A.: *Studies in Economic Nationalism*. Geneva, Librairie E. Droz, 1960. 230 pages. n.p.
- Hock, Alfred: *Reason and Genius: Studies in Their Origin*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960. 130 pages. \$3.75.
- Holmes, Jack D. L.: *The Planned Suburban Shopping Center*. Rev. ed., Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1960. 59 pages. \$.50.
- Husband, William H., and Frank Ray Anderson: *Real Estate*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1960. 574 pages. \$7.25.
- International Bibliography of Sociology*. Vol. VII. Paris, UNESCO, 1960. 319 pages. n.p.
- International Bibliography of Social and Cultural Anthropology*. Vol. III. Paris, UNESCO, 1957. 410 pages. n.p.
- International Social Science Journal*. Vol. XI, No. 4. Paris, UNESCO, 1959. 481-603 pages. \$2.00.
- Jennings, Eugene E.: *An Anatomy of Leadership—Princes, Heroes, and Supermen*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1960. n.p.
- Johnson, Rossall James: *Personnel and Industrial Relations*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1960. 572 pages. \$7.00.
- Kenkel, William F.: *The Family in Perspective: A Fourfold Analysis*. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960. 472 pages. \$6.00.
- Kent, Raymond P.: *Corporate Financial Management*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1960. 851 pages. \$7.50.
- Lange, Charles H.: *Cochiti: A New Mexico Pueblo, Past and Present*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1960. 618 pages. \$10.00.
- Langford, Louise M.: *Guidance of the Young Child*. New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960. 349 pages. \$6.25.
- Levitt, Morton: *Freud and Dewey on the Nature of Man*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960. 180 pages. \$3.75.
- McCarthy, E. Jerome: *Basic Marketing: A Managerial Approach*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1960. 770 pages. \$7.50.
- McClelland, Charles A. (ed.): *Nuclear Weapons, Missiles and Future War: Problem for the Sixties*. California, Howard Chandler, 1960. 235 pages. \$1.75.
- McClelland, Charles A. (ed.): *The United Nations: The Continuing Debate*. California, Howard Chandler, 1960. 198 pages. \$1.50.
- Meribeth, E. Cameron, Thomas H. D. Mahoney, and George E. McReynolds: *China, Japan and the Powers*,

- A History of the Modern Far East.* New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1960. 714 pages. \$8.00.
- Merrill, Maurice H.: *The Public's Concern with the Fuel Minerals.* St. Louis, Thomas Law Book Co. 1960. 129 pages. n.p.
- Morley, Felix: *Freedom and Federalism.* Chicago, Henry Regnery Company, 1959. 274 pages. \$5.00.
- Mowrer, O. Hobart: *Learning Theory and Behavior.* New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 1960. 555 pages. \$6.95.
- Nelson, Lowry, Charles E. Ramsey, and Coolie Verner: *Community Structure and Change.* New York, The Macmillan Company, 1960. 464 pages. \$6.50.
- Notes on the Industrialization of Texas.* Ser. 6. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1960. 58 pages. \$5.00.
- Orynski, Wanda: *Hegel Highlights: An Annotated Selection.* New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960. 361 pages. \$4.75.
- Pentony, Devere E. (ed.): *The Underdeveloped Lands: A Dilemma of the International Economy.* California, Howard Chandler, 1960. 196 pages. \$1.50.
- Pentony, Devere E.: *United States Foreign Aid: Readings in the Problem Area of Wealth.* California, Howard Chandler, 1960. 148 pages. \$1.25.
- Phillips, Charles F., and Delbert J. Duncan: *Marketing, Principles and Methods.* 4th ed., Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1960. 779 pages. \$7.50.
- Proschan, Frank: *Polya Type Distributions in Renewal Theory... With an Application to an Inventory Problem.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960. n.p.
- Ray, William S.: *An Introduction to Experimental Design.* New York, The Macmillan Company, 1960. 254 pages. \$6.50.
- Rogers, Everett M.: *Social Change in Rural Society—A Textbook in Rural Sociology.* New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960. 490 pages. \$6.75.
- Ross, Arthur M., and Paul T. Hartman: *Changing Patterns of Industrial Conflict.* New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960. 219 pages. \$6.50.
- Saunders, J. V. D.: *Differential Fertility in Brazil.* Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1958. 90 pages. \$3.50.
- Schettler, Clarence: *Public Opinion in American Society.* New York, Harper & Brothers, 1960. 334 pages. \$7.00.
- Schubert, Glendon A.: *Constitutional Politics... The Political Behavior of Supreme Court Justices and the Constitutional Policies that They Make.* New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960. 736 pages. \$8.50.
- Schweitzer, Albert: *The Philosophy of Civilization.* New York, The Macmillan Company, 1960. 347 pages. Paper, \$1.45.
- Seely, Charles S.: *Modern Materialism: A Philosophy of Action.* New York,

- Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960. 83 pages. \$2.50.
- Selznick, Philip: *The Organizational Weapon: A Study of Bolshevik Strategy and Tactics*. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1960. 350 pages. \$6.00.
- Sharkey, Robert P.: *Money, Class and Party, An Economic Study of Civil War and Reconstruction*. Baltimore, Maryland, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1959. 346 pages. \$5.50.
- Spriegel, William R.; in collaboration with Ernest Coulter Davies: *Principles of Business Organization and Operation*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960. 592 pages. \$7.95.
- Simmel, George: *Sociology of Religion*. Trans. by Curt Rosenthal. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc. 76 pages. \$3.75.
- Strong, Donald S.: *Urban Republicanism in the South*. Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1960. 72 pages. n.p.
- Sunder, John E.: *Clyde and Mae Reed Porter: Matt Field on the Sante Fe Trail*. Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1960. 318 pages. \$5.95.
- Terry, George R.: *Principles of Management*. 3d ed., Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1960. 778 pages. \$7.50.
- Thirteenth Annual Peace Officers Training School*. Lawrence, University of Kansas Pubs., Governmental Research Center, 1960. 112 pages. n.p.
- Van Gennep, Arnold: *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960. 198 pages. \$4.50.
- Vroom, Victor H.: *Some Personality Determinants of the Effects of Participation*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1960. 91 pages. n.p.
- Weinberg, Meyer: *Issues in Social Science*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959. 226 pages. \$2.95.
- Weir, George R.: *Government and the Handicapped, The Alabama Vocational Rehabilitation Program*. Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1960. 77 pages. n.p.
- Wetmore, Ruth Y.: *The Justice of the Peace in Kansas*. Lawrence, University of Kansas Pubs., Governmental Research Series No. 21, 1960. 76 pages. n.p.
- Whitaker, Urban G., Jr.: *Nationalism and International Progress*. California, Howard Chandler, 1960. 135 pages. \$1.25.
- Whitaker, Urban G., Jr.: *Propaganda and International Relations*. California, Howard Chandler, 1960. 160 pages. \$1.25.
- Williams, Robin M., Jr.: *American Society: A Sociological Interpretation*. 2d ed. rev., New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1960. 575 pages. \$6.50.
- Winn, Ralph B.: *A Concise Dictionary of Existentialism*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960. 122 pages. \$3.75.
- Wood, W. Birkbeck, and Sir James E. Edmond: *Military History of the Civil War: With Special Reference to the Campaigns of 1864 and 1865*. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1960. 330 pages. \$1.35.

# News and Notes

## **Agricultural Economics**

### *University of Arkansas*

DONALD E. FARRIS has been promoted to associate professor.

ARTHUR GERLOW has taken leave from the Agricultural Research Service to continue graduate study at Louisiana State University.

BERNAL L. GREEN has been appointed research assistant to work on the economics of rice production.

BILLY V. LESSLEY and BILLY R. WEBB have been appointed to the staff as instructors.

JAMES H. WHITE is on leave to continue graduate study at Oklahoma State University.

### *Texas A. and M. College*

JOHN G. MCNEELY has returned from a year's leave of absence as visiting professor at the Gokhale Institute, Poona, India, under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation.

JARVIS MILLER, associate professor, was in London and Bradford, England, during May and June studying marketing practices of imported meat, wool, and mohair.

T. R. TIMM was visiting professor at Colorado State University during the summer.

## **Business Administration**

### *Baylor University*

NEIL S. FOSTER, professor of marketing in the Hankamer School of Business for thirty years, retired May 31, 1960.

GIRVIN H. SANDERSON has joined the faculty of the Hankamer School of Business as assistant professor.

### *North Texas State College*

RUTH I. ANDERSON, on leave as visiting professor at Indiana University, returned to her duties as professor of business education in June.

BEN RAY COPELAND has resigned to join the staff of Southwestern University.

DAVID R. FITCH, formerly of Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, has been appointed professor of finance.

PORTER HENDERSON and RAYMOND E. MILES, of the accounting and management faculties, respectively, have received grants from the Southern Fellowship Fund for advanced study. HENDERSON will study at the University of Texas, and MILES will work toward the doctorate at Stanford University.

LUTHER PADEN NEELEY, who has been doing graduate study at the University of Arkansas, has joined the staff as assistant professor of accounting.

JOHN E. PEARSON, head of the Business Services Division, received a Ford Foundation study grant to work in statistics at Stanford University the past summer.

### *University of Texas*

New appointments are: R. CLIFTON ANDERSEN, Indiana University, as assistant professor of marketing; HERSCHEL M. ANDERSON, University of

Illinois, as assistant professor of accounting; and EARL D. BENNETT, Harvard University, associate professor of accounting.

W. H. BAUGHN, professor of finance and associate dean, is on leave until February. He is in charge of a special study by the American Bankers' Association of banker education programs.

BILL BISHOP, instructor of accounting, has accepted a position at Arlington State College as professor of accounting.

CALVIN P. BLAIR has been promoted to associate professor. He has returned after a year's leave at the University of Nuevo Leon in Monterrey, Mexico.

VIRGIL A. JAMES, associate professor of management and director of the Executive Development Program, has been awarded a Ford Foundation grant.

P. JOHN LYMBEROPOULOS, instructor in business statistics, received the teaching excellence award for the College of Business Administration last spring.

E. KARL MCGINNIS, professor emeritus of business law, died on January 18, 1960, following a short illness.

FRANCIS B. MAY, associate professor of business statistics, was on leave the past spring semester to assist the University of Minnesota in the development of quantitative methods in business administration for their Ph.D. program.

WILLIAM T. NEWELL, instructor of management, has accepted a teaching position at the University of Washington as assistant professor.

KENNETH W. OLM, who participated this summer in the case study seminar at Harvard University, has been promoted to associate professor.

PARLEY M. PRATT, assistant professor of marketing, has resigned to accept a position as associate professor at Brigham Young University.

HAMPTON K. SNELL, professor of transportation, has completed editing all traffic and inland transportation definitions for the third edition of *Webster's International Dictionary*. He acted as consultant in 1959 to the minister of communications, United Arab Republic, with a report on "Coordination of Rail, River and Road Transportation."

BURNARD SORD, associate professor of management, has returned after a year's leave during which he taught in Italy.

ROBERT BOYCE SWEENEY, assistant professor of accounting, has gone to the University of Alabama as associate professor.

WAYNE P. TENNEY, assistant professor of accounting, is leaving to go into public practice in Twin Falls, Idaho.

CECILIA V. TIERNEY, instructor in accounting, has joined the staff of the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants in New York City.

STELLA TRAWEEK, assistant professor of statistics, has retired after twenty-two years of service to the University. She left in June to spend some time in Europe.

GLENN A. WELSCH, professor of accounting and chairman of the accounting department, recently had his book *Budgeting: Profit Planning and Control* translated into Japanese. The Japanese Productivity Center made arrangements with Prentice-Hall for the publishing rights.

An undergraduate honors program for students of superior ability and

initiative will be inaugurated the current year. The Honors Plan will provide special work in English, mathematics, and economics. It is flexible enough to permit participants to develop a field of concentration or to pursue a general program.

A two-year master's degree in business-administration plan, designed for those who do not hold undergraduate degrees in business administration, was begun last spring with about thirty students enrolled in the new plan. Students who receive undergraduate degrees in any field other than business may enter the Graduate School to begin this program if they fulfill University requirements for admission. The plan is similar to the master's degree programs offered by such graduate schools of business as those of Harvard, Wharton School of Finance, Stanford, Michigan, Virginia, and others. More information about the MBA program may be obtained by writing to Dr. Stanley Arbingast, Graduate Advisor, College of Business Administration, W. H. 421.

### *University of Tulsa*

CLIFFORD HUTTON, assistant professor of accounting, has been given additional leave to complete his dissertation at the University of Texas. His research is being financed by the General Electric Company.

VEDA MCGINTY has been appointed assistant professor of secretarial administration.

ANDREW L. SPRINGFIELD, director of the Evening Division, has resigned his administrative duties to become associate professor in business administration.

## **Economics**

### *Colorado State College*

ORVEL L. TRAINER has joined the staff as assistant professor effective the current year.

### *Kansas State Teachers College (Pittsburg)*

MORRIS STEVENS has been promoted to associate professor.

### *University of New Mexico*

JULIAN S. DUNCAN has resigned as department chairman and will devote his time to teaching and research.

ROBERT E. L. KNIGHT has accepted a position at the University of Maryland.

WILLIAM L. MCDANIEL has been appointed assistant professor.

NATHANIEL WOLLMAN, after a year's leave of absence in research on water resources for Resources for the Future, Inc., Washington, D.C., will take over the duties of chairman of the department.

### *Oklahoma City University*

ESSID KOURI has been granted leave to work on his Ph.D. at the University of Arizona.

CLARENCE R. ROBERTS, who retired at the end of the spring semester, has accepted a position at San Francisco State College for the current year.

### *Oklahoma State University*

ALFRED L. PARKER has been appointed instructor.

### *Park College (Missouri)*

JOSEPH A. BILLINGS received a fellowship from the University of North

Carolina to attend the Political Economy Conference at Chapel Hill in August. The conference brings together a group of scholars, mainly economists, who are interested in furthering a mature conception of the institutions appropriate to a society which sets a high value on freedom.

### *Southern Methodist University*

LEO I. BAKONY, formerly of Northwestern University, joined the staff as assistant professor.

STEPHEN ENKE, from Yale University, has been named visiting professor.

DAVID I. FAND, associate professor, has been awarded a faculty research fellowship by the Ford Foundation for 1960-61. He will spend a year at the University Institute of Statistics, the University of Uppsala, Sweden.

HERBERT GEYER, from the Frankfurt University Statistical Center (Germany), has been named visiting lecturer.

RICHARD A. LABARGE has resigned to accept a position as financial analyst for the central office of the Ford Motor Company.

WALLACE F. LOVEJOY, associate professor, continues the second year of a grant made by the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company for research in the field of public utility economics.

J. CARTER MURPHY, Washington University, will join the staff in the spring as visiting professor.

DAVID J. OTT, formerly of the University of Maryland and Brookings Institution, has been appointed assistant professor.

I. JAMES PIKL has been named research fellow by the Inter-University

Committee for Economic Research on the South for the summer and fall semesters, 1960-61.

JOHN S. SPRATT will head the Economic and Business History Research Center that will soon be set up on the campus.

### *University of Texas*

FOREST G. HILL, formerly of the University of Buffalo, has joined the staff as professor of economic history.

WENDELL G. GORDON, professor, will take leave during the fall semester to serve as lecturer in international economic theory, University of Buenos Aires, Argentina.

SINDHA K. HULBE, on two years' leave from Ahmednagar College, University of Bombay, will return to his assistant professorship in September. He has received a grant from World Neighbors to conduct a rural-life development project in India.

HANS E. JENSEN is resuming his position as associate professor at the University of Alaska after a year's leave on a Ford doctoral fellowship at the University of Texas.

ALEXANDER M. KERR, senior lecturer, University of Western Australia, served as visiting lecturer during the past spring semester.

ROBIN MARRIS, of King's College, Cambridge, England, has been appointed visiting professor of microeconomics and statistics for the fall semester.

WALTER C. NEALE, assistant professor, will be on leave during the current year to serve as senior visiting lecturer in economic development, Panjab University, Chandigarh, India.

IZUMI TANIGUCHI, lecturer in statistics, has accepted an assistant professorship at the University of Missouri effective this fall.

### **Geography**

#### *Colorado State College*

CLARENCE MINKEL has been appointed assistant professor.

#### *Kansas State Teachers College (Pittsburg)*

WILLIAM E. POWELL has joined the staff as instructor.

### **Government**

#### *University of Denver*

WARREN WESTON has been appointed assistant professor of political science.

GLENN H. SNYDER, assistant professor, and JOE R. WILKINSON, instructor, are new staff members in the Department of International Relations.

#### *University of Kansas*

WILLIAM GORE, assistant professor of political science, has received a fellowship from Community Studies for research on policy decisions in the metropolitan area of Kansas City.

ROY D. LAIRD, assistant professor of political science, spent the summer in the U.S.S.R. He held a Watkins faculty fellowship.

EARL NEHRING has been promoted to assistant professor of political science.

ROBERT TOMASEK has received a Doherty Foundation fellowship for study of Chile's Christian Democratic Party and will be on leave for one year.

#### *Kansas State University*

LOUIS H. DOUGLAS has been awarded a Fulbright grant for lecture and research in the Philippines and will be associated with the Institute for Asian Studies at the University of the Philippines in Manila. He and Joseph Hajda, together with Louis Lambert of Indiana University, are authors of a book, *Readings and Projects in American Government*, published by the American Book Company.

Joseph Hajda, recently promoted to associate professor, is co-operating on two research projects: Authority and Responsibility in Farm Program Administration and Rural Economic Development in Kansas.

SHAO CHI YUAN has been appointed assistant professor of political science.

#### *North Texas State College*

CHESTER NEWLAND, formerly of Idaho State College, has joined the staff. He will handle courses in public administration, with emphasis on municipal management and administration.

#### *Southwestern Louisiana Institute*

CONRAD JOYNER has received a fellowship from the Citizenship Clearing House and is on a year's leave working in the office of the governor of the state of Oregon. WILLIAM R. GARNER, from Tulane University, served as his replacement during the spring semester.

#### *Southwest Texas State College*

DAN FARLOW has been appointed instructor.

*Texas A. and M. College*

E. RAMON ARANGO has joined the department as instructor. He is a former Fulbright scholar to Belgium.

W. E. BENTON, associate professor, is the author of *Suffrage and Elections (in Texas)*, an Arnold Foundation Monograph, No. VII (1960).

*Texas Southern University*

WILLIAM P. ROBINSON, SR., has been named head of the department. Robinson, the twenty-fifth president of the Association of Social Science Teachers, presided over and addressed their conference in March of last year.

*University of Texas*

STUART A. MACCORKLE returns to his position as professor and as director of the Institute of Public Affairs after working as advisor to the University of Seoul, Korea, for the International Co-operation Administration of Washington, D.C., for the past two and one-half years.

WILLIAM S. LIVINGSTON resumes his duties as associate professor after a leave of absence on a Fulbright grant to study political processes in England.

EDWARD TABORSKY has been promoted to the rank of professor.

JAMES R. SOUKUP, in collaboration with H. C. MCCLESKY and H. A. HOLLOWAY, is conducting a study on voter behavior.

ADOLPH W. RIEDERER, from New York University, has been appointed instructor.

H. C. MCCLESKY, instructor, has accepted a position at the University of Houston.

**History***University of Denver*

A chapter of Phi Alpha Theta was organized during the spring.

DWIGHT L. DUMOND, professor at the University of Michigan, will be a visiting lecturer during the fall.

HAROLD H. DUNHAM is working on several of the Indian tribe suits against the Government under the Indian Claim Commission.

GEORGE BARANY and MICHAEL MCGIFFERT were appointed to assistant professorships.

*East Texas State Teachers College*

A grant was received from the Fund for the Advancement of Education for a year's leave of absence for TIMOTHY L. SMITH, department chairman, to read and write in the field of American Educational History. Smith, a graduate of the University of Virginia, earned his Ph.D. in American history under ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, SR., at Harvard.

*University of Houston*

JOHN H. HILL, formerly of Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, has been appointed professor.

CORINNE COMSTOCK WESTON has been promoted to professor.

*Kansas State Teachers College (Pittsburg)*

JUDITH G. SHAW, from the University of Kentucky, has joined the department as assistant professor of European history.

*Kansas State Teachers College  
(Emporia)*

ROBERT MARDOCK, assistant professor of American history, is on leave to teach at the University of Colorado.

JOHN J. ZIMMERMAN, professor of American history, received a grant from the American Philosophical Society for study of Franklin and Pennsylvania politics in the colonial period.

*University of Oklahoma*

EDWARD EVERETT DALE, research professor emeritus, had his eighteenth and latest book, *Frontier Ways*, published by the University of Texas Press early in 1960.

JOHN S. EZELL, professor, has written a book, *Fortune's Merry Wheel: The Lottery in America*, which will be published in August, 1960, by Harvard University Press.

GILBERT C. FITE, research professor, received a Social Science Research Grant for summer study in the field of late nineteenth century agricultural history in the west. He will be doing research in the State Historical Societies of Kansas, Nebraska, The Dakotas, Colorado, and Minnesota, as well as in Washington, D.C.

ARRELL M. GIBSON, university archivist, was promoted to the rank of associate professor.

BRISON D. GOOCH, from Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was added to the European history staff as associate professor.

LEONIDAS E. HILL, from Dartmouth, was added to the European history staff as instructor.

W. EUGENE HOLLON, professor, has had his latest book, *The Southwest,*

*From Cliff dwellers to Urbanites*, accepted for publication by Alfred A. Knopf. Hollon, on leave of absence for the summer, taught at the University of New Mexico.

WILLIAM H. MAEHL, JR., assistant professor, is on leave of absence for the summer to do research in England on a study of "Radicalism in Northwestern England, 1815-1914."

EDWIN C. McREYNOLDS, after serving at the University of Oklahoma since 1943, retired as professor emeritus in August, 1960. He received one of the five Distinguished Service Citations at the June, 1960, commencement. He has accepted a teaching position at Cottey Junior College, Nevada, Missouri, for 1960-61. There he will complete his book on the history of Missouri, which will be published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

MAX L. MOORHEAD, professor and chairman of the department, is on leave of absence for the summer of 1960 for research on a study of "The Presidio Supply Problem in Northern New Spain in the 18th Century." Alfred B. Sears, professor and former department chairman, is serving as acting chairman during Moorhead's absence.

DONNEL M. OWINGS, professor, will be on half-time leave of absence during the fall semester of the academic year 1960-61 for work in educational television.

DUANE H. D. ROLLER, associate professor, is on leave of absence for the summer. During June and July he taught in the National Science Foundation Institute of the University of Tennessee, after which he taught at the University of Colorado for the second semester of the summer session.

LESLIE F. SMITH, professor, is leading a European tour for American Youth Abroad for the summer of 1960.

#### *Southwestern Louisiana Institute*

WALTER R. CRADDOCK, from the University of North Carolina, has joined the staff as an assistant professor.

#### *Southwest Texas State College*

KAY FARQUHAR, a doctoral candidate at the University of California, Berkeley, has been appointed instructor; Betty Jane Kissler, doctoral candidate at the University of Texas, has been appointed assistant professor.

DAVID CONRAD has been promoted to assistant professor.

#### *Stephen F. Austin State College*

J. HORACE BASS, from Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, and WILLIAM W. WHITE, from Mississippi State University, were visiting professors during the summer.

DORIS ELIZABETH KING has been promoted to associate professor.

ROBERT S. MAXWELL, associate professor, has been appointed Fulbright lecturer in American history at the University of Southampton, U.K., and will be on leave during the current year.

#### *Texas A. and M. College*

ALLAN C. ASHCRAFT, who received the Ph.D. degree at Columbia University in June, has been promoted to assistant professor. He received a summer research grant from Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College to further his study of the Southwest in the American Civil War.

JOHN T. DUNCAN, who has been promoted to associate professor, was recently appointed by Governor Price Daniel to the Civil War Centennial Commission of Texas.

PETER A. FORD, who for the past year has been doing research in France on a Fulbright scholarship, has joined the staff as instructor.

CLAUDE H. HALL has been granted a year's leave to teach at the University of Virginia.

HARWOOD P. HINTON has joined the staff as instructor.

J. CLAUDE ROBERTS has been granted a year's leave to teach in Japan with the Overseas Extension College Program of the University of Maryland.

SIDNEY I. ROBERTS has received his Ph.D. degree from Northwestern University and has been promoted to assistant professor.

CHARLES E. WYNES has completed his Ph.D. degree at the University of Virginia. He received a summer research grant from the American Philosophical Society to assist him in the compilation and editing of *Southern Sketches*, by MRS. ORRA LANGHORNE.

#### *Texas Technological College*

TIMOTHY PAUL DONOVAN and RONALD D. WARE have been appointed to assistant professorships.

GEORGE H. JONES, assistant professor, has received a Guggenheim Fellowship in support of a year's research in England.

THOMAS G. MANNING has been granted a leave for the current year to engage in research activities.

#### *University of Texas*

WILLIAM R. BRAISTED will be at Ohio State University during the cur-

rent year on a Mershon Fellowship. There he will continue research on history of the United States Navy in the Pacific.

LEWIS U. HANKE will be on leave during the current year on a Social Science Research Council grant and University research leave to continue study of the Potosi silver mines in Bolivia.

JOYCE C. LEBRA, currently in Japan on a Whitney fellowship, will be lecturer in Far Eastern history during the coming year.

EULALIA NAHMEYER LOBO, from the University of Brazil, has joined the staff as lecturer in Brazilian history. Dr. Lobo is in the United States on a John A. Whitney Foundation grant.

R. JOHN RATH will be on research leave during the fall semester.

## Social Science

### *Colorado State College*

ROBERT W. LARSON has joined the staff as assistant professor of social studies.

### *Kansas State Teachers College (Emporia)*

The Kansas Institute on International Affairs was held during the summer session under the sponsorship of the Division of Social Sciences. Supporting grants for the selected students were made available by the Foreign Relations Project of the North Central Association and the International Affairs Department of the AFL-CIO. WILLIAM H. SEILER served as administrative director; DALE GARVEY and HAROLD SARE were in charge of the instructional program.

LOREN PENNINGTON, from the University of Michigan, has joined the faculty to teach American history.

HAROLD SARE is on leave for the current year to continue his doctoral study at Harvard.

ELDON SNYDER has joined the faculty to teach sociology.

### *Kansas State Teachers College (Pittsburg)*

LEWIS A. BAYLES has been promoted to associate professor of social science.

## Sociology

### *University of Arizona*

PETER GARABEDIAN, formerly of Washington State University, joined the staff this September.

ROBERT ROWEN has resigned to accept employment with the New Jersey Department of Education.

### *Baylor University*

CHARLES D. JOHNSON retired as chairman on June 1 and was named Distinguished Professor. He will teach advanced courses in the area of his special interest and will direct students in graduate courses.

CHARLES M. TOLBERT has been named chairman following Dr. Johnson's retirement. Tolbert has been a member of the department faculty for four years.

### *University of Denver*

MRS. EDITH SHERMAN has begun research in the Denver area on various aspects of gerontology for the White House Conference on Aging and the Governor's Commission on Aging. Part of the research is in connection with a

national study entitled *Profile of Aging, U.S.A.* being conducted by Emory University.

#### *University of Houston*

ART GALLAHER has been promoted to associate professor.

HOWARD KAPLAN and JULES SCHRAGER joined the department as part-time lecturers this fall.

JOSEPH S. WERLIN will be on half-time leave for the academic year to study culture change in Mexico.

On March 19, 1960, the first Conference on Inter-Group Relations was held on campus, sponsored by the department in co-operation with the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith. Melvin M. Tumin conducted the conference.

A preprofessional social work program was inaugurated this fall. Jules Schrage will offer the first two courses in this program.

#### *Kansas State Teachers College (Pittsburg)*

RODNEY D. ELLIOTT has been promoted to associate professor.

ROBERT R. NOBLE, who has been promoted to professor, is currently president of the Kansas Family Life Association. Last spring he was a member of the Kansas delegation to the Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth.

#### *University of Kansas*

WILLIAM M. BASS, who joined the staff as instructor in physical anthropology, is from the University of Pennsylvania. There he was Senior Anthropometrist at the Philadelphia Center for Research in Child Growth.

RAY P. CUZZORT carried out research during the summer for the North Kansas City Development Company on the ecology of shopping centers.

E. GORDON ERICKSEN, recently promoted to the rank of professor, is studying differential human fertility in Costa Rica.

EVERETT C. HUGHES, of the University of Chicago, will return to the campus the second semester to complete his tenure as Rose Morgan visiting professor. He will teach seminars in the sociology of the professions and in race relations.

CARLYLE S. SMITH, recently promoted to professor of anthropology, spent two months this summer in Europe presenting papers to the International Congress of Americanists at Vienna and the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences at Paris. In addition, he carried on archaeological field work in the valleys of the Yonne and Cher rivers of Central France in search of specimens pertaining to the survival into the nineteenth century of flint-chipping techniques reminiscent of the Stone Age.

CHARLES A. VALENTINE, on leave of absence this year, received an Andrew Mellon postdoctoral fellowship for advanced study at the University of Pittsburgh. He will analyze and write up his data on the role of religion in the over-all process of social and cultural change in the lives of the Lakalai people of New Britain.

#### *North Texas State College*

KENNETH LOMAX has been appointed instructor.

HARRY R. DICK has been promoted to associate professor.

*Our Lady of the Lake College*

SISTER FRANCES JEROME, head of the department, was chosen president-elect of the American Catholic Sociological Society for the coming year. Sister Jerome, who has been a member of the Society for eleven years, has served on the executive council and on research committees. Sister Jerome has done sociological field research among ethnic groups in the United States, and is the author of three books.

*Texas A. and M. College*

C. HAROLD BROWN, formerly of Pennsylvania State University, has joined the staff.

DAN R. DAVIS spent the summer in Asia on a Ford Foundation grant in connection with the college's training program for foreign service personnel.

DANIEL RUSSELL, representing the International Voluntary Services, Washington, D.C., spent his seventh consecutive summer in several foreign nations.

The Fifteenth Annual Church Conference was held in June. Approximately two hundred ministers and lay religious leaders attended the conference.

*Texas Technological College*

EARL KOOS, professor of sociology, died on March 17, 1960.

New appointments are: FRED KATZ, who was engaged in a research project in medical sociology during the summer in Chapel Hill, to an assistant professorship; SAM SCHULMAN, formerly at the University of Texas Medical Branch and director of a research project for the USPHS in Santa Fe, New Mexico, to an assistant professorship; and H. CLYDE WILSON, who has been engaged in a research project among the Jicarilla Apaches in New Mexico, to an assistant professorship.

*University of Tulsa*

RICHARD ARMSTRONG has joined the faculty as assistant professor.

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**CRIMINOLOGY AND PENOLOGY**

**Richard R. Korn, *The Weeks School, Vt.*; Lloyd W. McCorkle, *Dept. of Insts. and Agencies, N. J.* 1959, 672 pp., \$6.75**

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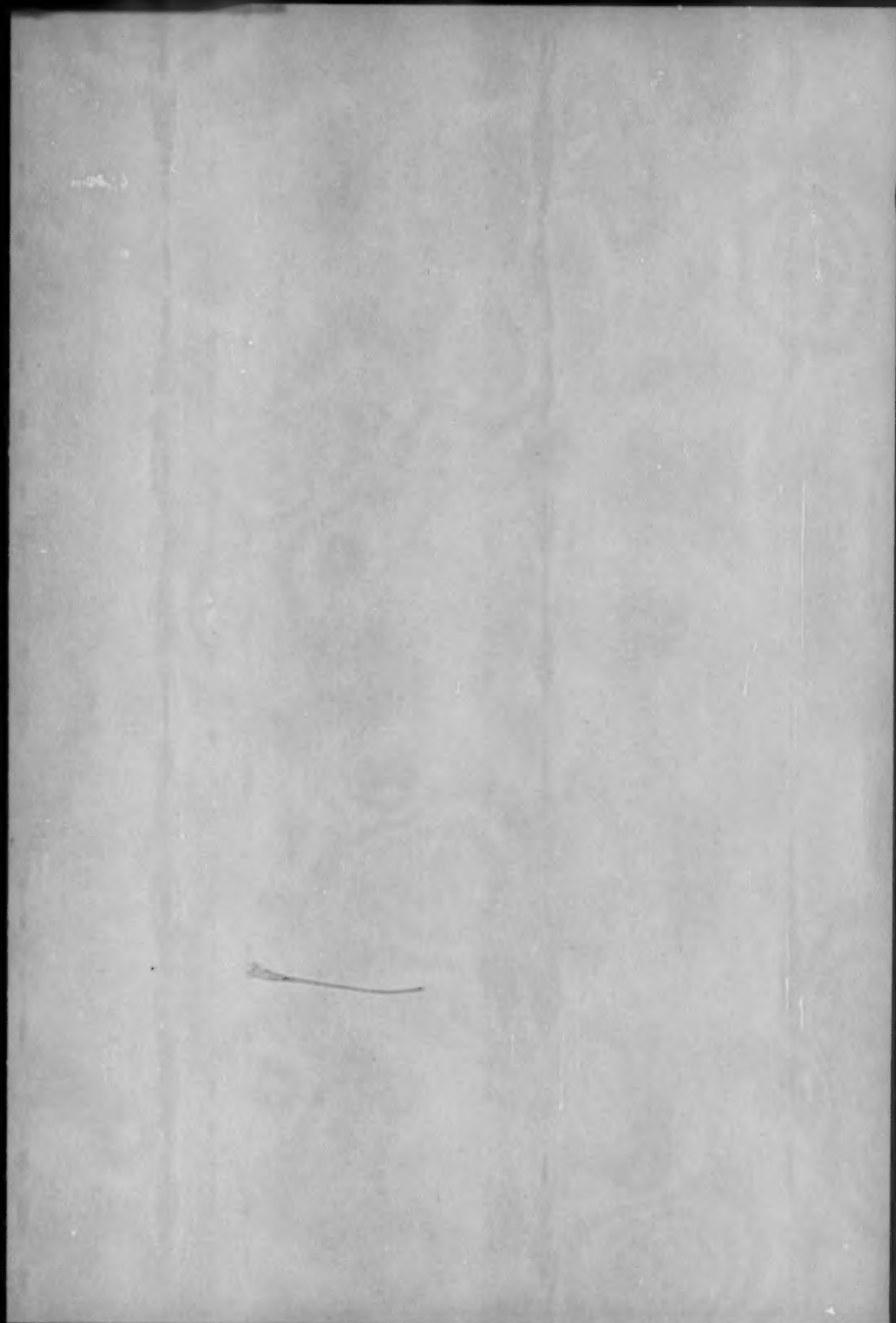
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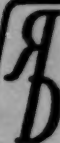
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